

PAPYRI FROM  
HERMOPOLIS

*REES*

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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

PAPYRI  
FROM HERMOPOLIS

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS OF THE  
BYZANTINE PERIOD

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

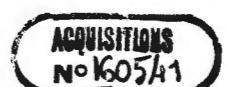
BY

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WITH SIX PLATES

LONDON  
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## PREFACE

THE papyri here published were contained in two tin boxes which came to light among many similar boxes in which the Oxyrhynchus papyri and other papyri collected by Grenfell and Hunt were stored. No information is available regarding their origin but it seems probable that they were acquired by Grenfell and Hunt during one of their seasons in Egypt. It is clear from their reports that they were accustomed to buy up groups of papyri offered to them for sale, which were often the first indication of sites at which papyri were coming to light, and the present papyri may well represent one of these speculative purchases. The papyri when found had already been relaxed, and had been placed between sheets of paper which included discarded pages from the *Oxford University Gazette*, so familiar to all those who have worked on the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and these pages bore dates ranging from May 1907 to October 1908. This gives a *terminus post quem* for the date at which the papyri were relaxed, but does not indicate how long before that date they had been acquired. From internal evidence it is clear that the majority come from Hermopolis, though a few are from Memnonia and one mentions Oxyrhynchus (though it does not follow that it was found there). With the exception of the first, all the papyri date from the Byzantine period.

The Editors are greatly indebted to Professor Rees for undertaking the laborious task of editing these often difficult and fragmentary texts. To him special credit is due for identifying the link between the remarkable group of correspondence of a sect of pagan devotees at Hermopolis (nos. 2-6) and the Archive of Theophanes now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester and published in P. Ryl. iv. The identification was finally clinched by Prof. Rees's discovery that one of the Theophanes texts (P. Ryl. 624) is actually written in the same hand as no. 6 in the present volume, and the Editors are grateful to the John Rylands Librarian for permission to reproduce the papyrus in question. Whether these five papyri should be regarded as part of the Theophanes Archive (which was purchased by Hunt in about 1896) is another matter, in which no certainty is attainable.

The Editors wish to express their deep sense of obligation to Sir Harold Bell for making an inventory of both tins and preliminary transcripts of some of the more complete pieces, and to Prof. H. C. Youtie for reading the whole of the manuscript in draft and making many valuable criticisms and suggestions

*PREFACE*

Finally, gratitude must be expressed to the Oxford University Press for producing the volume in accordance with their usual high standards, and to U.N.E.S.C.O. for a grant of \$500 towards the cost of publication.

The Editors suggest, as a suitable abbreviated form of reference to the present papyri, 'P. Herm. Rees'.

E. G. TURNER  
T. C. SKEAT  
*Joint Editors,  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

*June 1964*

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

THE method of publication follows that adopted in previous volumes for non-literary papyri. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets <> a mistaken omission in the original, braces {} a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[ ]] a deletion, the signs '' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to the papyri printed in this volume, ordinary numerals to lines.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. PRIVATE LETTERS

(1-17)

### 1. LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

13·4×8·8 cm.

First century

This letter of introduction is of the conventional kind. Though included among Byzantine material, the hand is clearly Roman, almost certainly first-century, upright, and on the large side, with resemblances to Schubart, *Griech. Pal.*, Abb. 28. The papyrus is of poor quality and has a collema running down its right margin, which is incomplete; the ink has faded badly in places.

On the ἐπιστολὴ συνετατική see C. W. Keyes, 'The Greek Letter of Introduction' in *AJP* 56 (1935), pp. 28 ff. and P. Mert. ii. 62, Introd. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.*, has nothing to add to Keyes on this subject.

'Ηρακλῆς Μουσαίῳ τῷ]

φίλαττῳ χαίρειν.

ἐρωτῶ σε συνεταμένον

ἔχν Διόσκορον τὸν ἀ[ναδώ-]

5 σοντί σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ἔστιν μου λείαν ἀγα[γκαῖ-]

ος φίλος. τοῦτο δ[έ]

ποιήσας χαρῆ μοι.

ἔρρωσο. Φαρμοῦ[θι]

10 ιγ.

Verso:

Μουσαίῳ τῷ φίλῃ[άτῳ].

4. l. ἔχειν. 5. l. -σοντά. 6. l. λίαν.

3, 9. The initial epsilon is greatly enlarged;

this is a kind of paragraphing.

'Heracles to his dearest Musaeus, greetings. I request you to regard as introduced to you Dioscorus, who will deliver the letter to you; he is a very close friend of mine. By doing this, you will be conferring a favour on me. Farewell. Pharmuthi 13 (?).' (Address) 'To my dearest Musaeus.'

3 f. ἐρωτῶ κτλ.: Cf. P. Oxy. ii. 292; iv. 787; P. Mert. ii. 62. 6; and for Latin parallels (*habeas tibi commendatissimos*, &c.) Cic. Ad Fam. ii. 8. 3; xii. 26. 2; xiii. 10. 2, 64, &c. For *συνεταμένος* in this sense cf. P. Giss. 71. 4 f.; P. Petr. ii. 2. 4. 4; for the term *συνετατικὴ ἐπιστολὴ* 2 Cor. 3. 1; for *συνετημένος*

Rom. 16. 1-2 and P. Oxy. xii. 1587. 20; see too Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, and Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. συντατικός.

4 f. τὸν κτλ.: The dative of the participle has clearly been attracted by σοι. But the initial alpha of the verb is not certain, though sufficiently likely to suggest that the verb most commonly used in this connexion, i.e. ἀναδέωμι, should be supplied here (cf. Keyes, op. cit., pp. 39 ff.).

6 f. ἀγρ[γκατ]ος φύλος: Cf. P. Flor. ii. 142, 3; BGU ii. 625, 26; P. Stud. xx. 233, 2. The phrase goes back to classical and Hellenistic times; cf. Eur. *Andr.* 671 and Acts 10. 24.

10 ιγ: The iota is by no means certain but the gamma reasonably so.

## 2. LETTER FROM ANATOLIUS TO SARAPION

(Plate)

Hermopolis (?)

25.9 x 19.3 cm.

Fourth century

This letter is the first of five which either are written to Theophanes or mention him as a person of some importance to the correspondents, members of a circle of pagans worshipping Hermes Trismegistus and living, in all probability, at Hermopolis. There can be no doubt that this Theophanes is the same man whose archive is represented in P. Ryl. iv. 616-51: the latter is known to have been a native of Hermopolis (P. Ryl. iv, pp. 105, 113, referring to P. Lat. Strassb. i and P. Ryl. 623), his work involved him in a good deal of travelling, and a man named Hermodorus is both a member of our pagan circle and a friend of the Theophanes of the Rylands papyri (P. Ryl. 630, *passim*). If this evidence is not considered to be conclusive, it only remains to say that the hand which wrote P. Ryl. 624, a letter to Theophanes from his sons, is the same as that which wrote the letter of Besodorus to Theophanes (6). It is probable, therefore, that 2-6 belong to the Archive of Theophanes and thus supply the deficiency mentioned by the editors of P. Ryl. iv (p. 104, first paragraph). It may well be that unpublished papyri recently discovered in the John Rylands Library at Manchester also contain some documents from the Archive of Theophanes.

The present letter is badly damaged in the middle, and the lacunae cannot always be filled with any certainty. But the general purport is clear: after complimentary greetings, phrased in a literary style, Anatolius goes on to excuse himself for failing to visit Sarapion in person, mentions the arrival of Theophanes, and declares his confidence in him; he then tells of the great religious festival in the Sacred Month, shortly due to be celebrated and, no doubt, connected with the cult of Hermes (l. 11), promising in conclusion to visit Sarapion immediately after it is over. The reference to the cult of Hermes is especially interesting and ties up with the invocation of Hermes Trismegistus in the other letter of Anatolius (3); on the identification of Thoth with Hermes Trismegistus see G. Méautis, *Hermopolis-la-Grande*, p. 21, W. Scott and A. S. Ferguson, *Hermetica*, i, Introd., pp. 4 f., and A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, Budé edition, Préface, p. 1.

The letter is written on papyrus of fair quality by the same hand as 3. It seems to have been folded twice or three times across and again in the middle; the right

## 2. LETTER FROM ANATOLIUS TO SARAPION

3

margin has been rubbed away, especially at the foot of the letter. The address on the verso is faint. Iota adscript is consistently used and occasional breathings inserted.

τῷ δεσπότῃ μου (space) Σαραπίωνι  
 [Ἄ]γαρόλιος (space) χαῖρ[ε]ιμ.  
 οἰσθα ὡς εὔχομαι, κύρ[ιε] μου, καὶ κατ' ὄψιν σε θεά-  
 σασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν, ἅτε προστάτην ὄντα ἐ-  
 5 μὸν καὶ προστατῶν τὸν ἀξιάγαστον πολλά-  
 κις γοῦν προθυμούμενόν με καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ,  
 τῆς ὡς σε ἀφείξεως [ἀ]πεῖχον προφάσεις ἀπα-  
 ραίτητοι, ἔνθεν μ[έ]ν τῶν θυγατέρων αἱ  
 νόσοι· ταύτας γάρ μ[οι] θεῶν τις παρέσχε  
 10 κατ' ἐπήρειαν, ἃς [λ]ύσειεν ὅμως· ἔνθεν δὲ  
 τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ φυλάττοντος θε[ο]ῦ Ἐρμοῦ  
 τὸ ἀπαραίτητον [μο]ι [ν]δωρ. τοιγαρο[ῦν] ἦ  
 μὴν καὶ νῦν κα[λ]ὴν καὶ ἀρμόττοντον  
 15 τῷ σῷ ἀπαραίτητῳ η[θ]ει σύν[νοι]αν  
 ἔχων, ἀγοδον [ώς] με λαβ[όν]τος τ[ού] κυρί-  
 [ο]υ μου ἀδελ[φο]ῦ Θε[ο]φάνη[ν] τοῦ [δεσπότ]ου  
 ὥι θαρ[ρ]ῶ .[.....].. πολ[...]ωδ[.....]. παν-  
 ταχοῦ [.....].[...].ποτη[.....].ε[λ].[.]ρ[...]..τι  
 .εως α[...]σχε[...] τῆς θρη[σ]κείας [τ]ῆς ἴε-  
 20 ρομηγ[ι]ας τοῦ Φ[αρ]μοῦθι ἐνστάσης, ἐν ᾧ  
 πολλαὶ καὶ συνεχ[εῖς] κατὰ λόγον κωμασίαι  
 γίγνονται, αἱς παρ[εῖ]ναι ἀναγκαῖον κατ' ἀμ-  
 φότερα, κατά τε τ[η]ν περὶ τὸ θεῶν θερα-  
 25 πείαν καὶ τὸ κα[τ]ὰ καιρὸν ἔχειν τὸν ἀ-  
 ριστον τῶν εὐχῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ὑγιείας τε  
 καὶ δόξης. η[θ]ει [δ]έ θεῶν συνεργούντων  
 καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι παρεχόντων μ[ετά] τὸν  
 30 [τ]ῆς θρησκείας μηνὸς Φ[αρ]μοῦθι καιρόν. ε[γ]νδαι-  
 μο[νο]ίης δι' ὅλου,  
 κύρ[ι]έ μου, καὶ  
 θεοὶ [π]άρειεν  
 σοι προσφιλεῖ[ς].

Verso:

*τῶι [δε]σπότηι Σαραπίωνι Ἀγαπόλιος*

4. ἄτε. 7. l. ἀφίξεως. 10. ἄσ. 12. 'δωρ; gap before τοιγαρο[υν]. 12, 13. l. ἡμην?  
19. Perhaps εως without preceding letter. 20. ἄτι. 24. l. κατὰ τό.

'To my master Sarapion, Anatolius, greetings. You know, my lord, that I pray both to see you in person and to speak to you, since you are my champion and among champions admirable. At all events, though often I was eager and ready for action, unavoidable reasons kept me from reaching you—on the one hand, the illnesses of my daughters (for it was one of the gods who in malice sent these upon me, and may he yet bring them to an end!), on the other, the inexorable water of the cult of the god Hermes who protects. Therefore, in very truth, because my conscience is now sound and in keeping with your inexorable character, and because my lord brother Theophanes, our master, has made the journey up to me, in whom I have confidence . . . everywhere . . . the worship of the sacred month of Pharmuthi having begun, in which many processions take place without stop and in due order, at which I must be present on two counts, by reason of the service due to the deity and because it offers the best opportunity for prayers for your health and good report. But I shall come, if the gods co-operate and make it possible, after the time of the worship in the month Pharmuthi. May you enjoy everlasting happiness, my lord, and may the gods be with you, kindly disposed!' (Address) 'To my master Sarapion, Anatolius.'

6 f. ἐν ἔργῳ: For this phrase in classical Greek cf. Eur. *I.T.* 1190; it is better taken this way than with the following genitive.

7 f. ἀπαράτητοι: Clearly an adjective for which Anatolius has a great fondness: he uses it three times in this letter, though not in his other letter, the one to Ambrosius (3). The whole sentence is a nicely balanced piece of writing.

12 [μοι] [τὸ]δωρ: The *μοι* is difficult to fit into the syntax, unless it is to be taken as an ethical dative (= 'inexorable, in my view'), which would not be unsuitable to the kind of Greek used by educated pagans in the fourth century; the alternative would be to read [δε]τ. The allusion to 'water' has proved impossible to explain or relate to the cult of Hermes Trismegistus. Water was certainly believed to have purificatory qualities; cf. *Catal. des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs* (Brussels, 1928, pp. 148–51 Bidez), 150. 19—'car le soufre purifie par l'acréte de l'odeur, l'eau parce qu'elle participe de la puissance ignée'—and, for astrological medicine, Festugière, op. cit. i, pp. 131 ff., especially 133 ff. But, on the other hand, we can be fairly certain that purificatory rites as such were not a part of Hermetism; see Nock–Festugière, op. cit., Préface, p. vi and Scott–Ferguson, op. cit., Introd., p. 8. Again, a water ordeal in pagan religion is normally a test of chastity and, therefore, hardly appropriate in the present context. Nor is it worth considering the possibility that rain is being referred to. We must be content to leave it as some kind of rite or ceremony connected with the worship of Hermes Trismegistus, the performance of which prevented the writer from undertaking a journey, combined, as it was, with his daughters' illnesses.

15 [ἄσ]: To be preferred to [πρός], both because of the lack of space and also because of the writer's known liking for its use to express motion to a person (cf. l. 7 and 3, 11).

16 Both nouns are supplied *exempli gratia*.

17 ff. The role of Theophanes as mail-carrier in 3 suggests that he is to perform the same function here and that these lines should contain some reference to this fact.

33 Names like Anatolius here, Ambrosius in 3, and John in 4 all have a Christian flavour, but then so has the phraseology of these pagan letters. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize the dangers of

attributing to Christians letters in this period which merely contain names and turns of phrase popular with Christians. This letter and those which follow and emanate from the same circle are a strong reminder of the persistence of paganism in certain quarters and particularly among highly educated persons; cf. Roger Rémondon, 'L'Égypte et la suprême résistance au christianisme' in *BIFAO* 51 (1952), pp. 63–78 and P. Ryl. iv. 624. 18, where *τῶν ἀλλως φρονύντων* is almost certainly an allusion to Christians.

## 3. LETTER FROM ANATOLIUS TO AMBROSIUS

(Plate)

Hermopolis (?)

19.1 × 12.3 cm.

Fourth century

Here Anatolius, the writer of 2, writes to Ambrosius, whom he, himself a self-styled 'chief prophet' (l. 26), treats with great respect, describing him as the 'champion of the wisdom of the Greeks'. His purpose is apparently to inform the addressee of the good fortune which he has enjoyed by reason of the intervention of Theophanes, whose arrival is regarded as giving cause for confidence in 2. Theophanes has now gone to Ambrosius, taking with him an address (*πρόστρησις*, ll. 12 f.) from Anatolius. At this point the papyrus has been broken away on the left, and the lacunae are difficult to fill.

The hand is the same as that of 2, and the papyrus is of fair quality; there is a tendency towards cursive writing at the ends of lines. Apart from the large gap already referred to, which affects the lower left-hand portion of the papyrus, there are several large holes elsewhere, but these do not present as serious a problem. The address is written across the fibres on the verso.

Iota adscript is employed (as in 2), and there is one breathing.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου πασσόφῳ Ἀμβροσίῳ

Ἀνατόλιος (space) χαίρειν.

προσειπε[ῖν] σε ἀναγκαῖον

τὸν τῆς τ[ῶ]ν Ἑλλήνων σοφί-

5 as προστά[τη]ν καὶ ἡ[μ]ῖν ἥδην

καὶ χρηστόν· θεῶν δὲ ἔργον

παρασχέθαι τὰς ἀφορμάς.

ηὐ[τ]ύχηται γοῦν μοι τὸ τυ-

χεῖν τοῦ ἀρίστου τῶν ἀνδρῶν

10 τοῦ κυρίο[ν] μου ἀδελφοῦ Θεο-

φάνοι[ς, ἥ]κοντος φύς νμᾶς

καὶ τὴ[ν] παρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσρη-

[σιν] κ[ο]μιζοντος. ἀμφότερα γάρ

[. . .]. α καὶ ὁ προσάγων

15 [καὶ ὁ ἀ]ποδεχόμενος· ὁ γὰρ  
 [. . . .]ω ἀστ[ά]ζομαι τὸ δυ-  
 [νατὸν ν]υμῶν [ἀμ.]φοτέρων  
 [ὅφε]λος. π[ρο]σαγόρε[ν]ε  
 [τὸν φίλ]ον μον ἀδελφὸν  
 20 [. . . .]θωνα. εὐδαιμονία σε  
 δοῖεν αὐτὸς τε  
 ὁ τρισμέγιστος  
 Ἐρμῆς καὶ οἱ  
 θεοὶ πάντες διὰ  
 25 τέλους εἶναι.

Verso:

[τῶι] πασσόφωι Ἀμβροσίῳ (space) Ἀνατόλιος ἀρχιπροφήτης.

1, 26. l. πανσόφω. 5. ἡδνν. 11. ὑμας.

To my lord, all-wise Ambrosius, Anatolius, greetings. I must address you, the champion of the wisdom of the Greeks and one who is pleasing and useful to us; but it is the work of the gods to provide the means. At least I have been fortunate in falling in with the best of men, my lord and brother Theophanes, who has come to you and brings the address from me. For both are . . .—both the one who brings it and the one who receives it; for I, who . . ., welcome the powerful help (?) of you both. Greet my dear brother . . . thon. May Hermes Thrice-greatest and all the gods grant you permanent happiness! (Address) 'To the all-wise Ambrosius, Anatolius, chief prophet.'

1 πασσόφωι: It is probably unnecessary to correct this, as some of the best codices of Plato have it; see LSJ, s.v.

3 ἀναγκαῖον: Perhaps it is better to understand the simple omission of ἐστι (cf. 2, 22) than to supply ἡγησάμην (cf. 4, 3).

8 f. τὸ τυχεῖν κτλ.: cf. 2, 24, 27 for other instances of the writer's fondness for the articular infinitive.

11 ὡς: The use of ὡς as a preposition with the accusative is another example of the literary style affected by the writer; cf. 2, 7.

12 f. πρόσορη[σιν]: Probably this refers to the present letter, and perhaps it is intended to provide the noun equivalent of προσευπεῖν (l. 3). On the other hand, LSJ cite one use of it in the sense of 'recommendation' (Gal. 12. 2).

14 The neuter plural of an adjective would seem to be needed here; there are several possibilities, of which possibly [χρηστά]τα and [δυνα]τά are the best in the present context. But the use of the neuter plural is odd.

16 We should expect a present participle, e.g. γράφων or, better, πέμπων here, but the omega is beyond dispute. Perhaps the final nu has been left out.

16 f. τὸ δυ[νατὸν ν]υμῶν . . . [ὅφε]λος: The adjective and noun are supplied *exempli gratia*, and the lambda is by no means certain; in fact, mu might be better, but there are very few neuter nouns ending in -μος, none of which fit here.

19 [τὸν φίλ]: There is barely room for this, let alone for [τὸν κύριον] which would be the standard expression.

20 [. . . .]θωνα: There are many possible names; Agathon would be too small to fill the lacuna.

22 f. The invocation of Hermes Trismegistus is of great interest; cf. the reference in 2, 11. It is probable that the pagan circle which wrote, or received, these letters was to be found in Hermopolis, long connected with the worship both of Thoth and of Hermes; cf. G. Méautis, *Hermopolis-la-Grande*, especially pp. 19 ff.

## 4. LETTER FROM JOHN AND LEON TO THEOPHANES

(Plate, with 12)

Hermopolis (?)

24·7 x 14·5 cm.

Fourth century

There can be no doubt that Theophanes is the same man who is addressed in 5, 6 and referred to in 2, 3, and that this letter is from the same archive of letters, sent to each other by members of this pagan circle. The similarity of some of the phraseology to that which is usually described as Christian is again striking; indeed, but for the absence of Christian salutations, &c., the letter might well deceive the reader as to the religious affiliations of its writers.

The hand is a good, literary one which only occasionally displays a tendency to cursive writing, and the papyrus is of good quality; as far as the letter goes, it is perfectly preserved, but there are large holes immediately below the letter. The address is written along the fibres on the verso.

Θεοφάνει ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 Ἰωάννης καὶ Λέων χαίρειν.  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεθα προσαγο-  
 ρεῦσαι σε διὰ γραμμάτων, εὐχό-  
 5 μενοι ὑγιαίνοντί σοι καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν  
 εὐθυμοῦντι δοθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν.  
 εὐχόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τάχει σε ἀπολα-  
 βεῖν ὄλοκληροῦντα. ἀσπάζονταί σε  
 πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ  
 10 Διονύσιος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀττίνον ὁ συντυ-  
 χών σοι ἐν τῇ Αθρίβει. ἐρρώσθαι σε  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 εὐχόμεθα.

Verso:

Θεοφάνει ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωάννης καὶ Λέων.

2. Ιωαννης.

'To Theophanes, our beloved brother, John and Leon, greetings. We thought it necessary to greet you by letter, praying that the letter be given to you when you are in good health and in good cheer in all respects. And we pray to get you back soon in prosperity. All the brothers who are with us salute you and so does Dionysius from (the village of) Attinu, who met you at Athribis. We pray for your good health for many a year.' (Address) 'To Theophanes, our beloved brother, John and Leon.'

**το ὁ ἀπὸ Αττίνου:** A κάμη Αττίνου (?) is found in PSI i. 31, 7 (second century), on which the editor refers us to P. Teb. ii. p. 371; a χωρίον Αττίνου is mentioned in P. Fay. 227 (3rd cent.), Αττίνου several times in P. Stud. x (7th/8th cents.), though the editor here reads Αττίνου in one place (P. Stud. x. 40). No doubt, however, the same village is being referred to; it was in the Fayyūm and later became known as a χωρίον, a not infrequent occurrence in the later period.

**II Αθρίβη:** Tell Atrib, near Benha.

**14** There are the remains of two lines just to the right and below ἀδελφῶι; probably they curved upwards in the lacuna left at this point and indicated an interval between the name of the addressee and those of the writers of the letter.

#### 5. LETTER FROM HERMODORUS TO THEOPHANES

(Plate)

Hermopolis (?)

22·2×13·9 cm.

Fourth century

The addressee of this letter is the same as of 4, 6, and he is also referred to in 2, 3. Theophanes was clearly a person of some importance in this pagan circle. Here he is the recipient of salutations and good wishes, all presented in a rather flowery language which anticipates the conventions of later letters of the Byzantine period. It is noteworthy that in this letter, as in so many others from the fourth century onwards, no particular message is conveyed, and that the phraseology, *mutatis mutandis*, is very similar to that found in Christian letters of the fourth century.

The letter is written on papyrus of good quality in a fine hand with obvious literary affinities, employing iota adscript, occasional punctuation, and (sometimes) breathings and accents over words which might otherwise be ambiguous. The verso has the address, or part of it, written across the fibres. One line, that containing the name of the addressee, is missing at the head of the recto, which is otherwise practically undamaged apart from a few small holes.

• • • • •  
 [Ἐρ]μόδω[ρος] (space) χ[αίρει]γ.  
 [εὐ]φραίν[ων εὖ]μαν[τὸν γ]ράφ[ω σ]οι καὶ  
 [εὖ]χομαι ὑ[γιαίν]οντ[ί σοι κ]αὶ εὐθυμοῦντι  
 δ[ο]θῆναι [τὰ γ]ράμμα[τα]. τῶν εὐλόγων  
 5 δέ ἐστι κ[αὶ] σε γράφοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις μι-  
 μήσκεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶν, ἵνα μείζονα  
 ἔχωμεν τὴν θυμηδίαν, γινώσκοντες

#### 5. LETTER FROM HERMODORUS TO THEOPHANES

δί' ὧν ἐπιστελεῖς τὴν εὐκταίαν ἡμῶν  
 σωτηρίαν σου καὶ ὑγειαν· εἴη δὲ ἡμᾶς  
 10 ἐν τάχει ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ μεγί-  
 στης εὐφροσύνης· ἡς εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἐλ-  
 πίζομεν τεύξεσθαι παρὰ τῆς τοῦ παντο-  
 κράτ[ορ]ος θεοῦ χάριτος, ἀπολαβόντες  
 σε ἐρρωμένον ψυχῆι τε καὶ σώματι  
 15 καὶ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξαντα. εὐθύμει δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νιοῖς ἡμῶν Ἄννοις τε καὶ  
 Ἄφθονίαι, ὅτι ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ τὰ δέοντα  
 πράττουσιν, ἐπιμελούμενοι τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν λειτουργημά-  
 των, ὑγιαίνουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ  
 20 αὐτῶν σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ  
 [κ]ατὰ τὸν οἰκόν σου. ἀσπάζεται σε πολλὰ  
 [ἡ] ἀδελφή σου καὶ τὰ παιδία ἡμῶν  
 [κ]αὶ πάντ[ε]ς οἱ κατὰ τὸν οἰκον ἡμῶν.  
 25 ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς  
 χρόνοις εὐχομαι, κύριε  
 ἀδελφε, καὶ ἀπολάβοι-  
 μέν σε ἐν τάχει κατὰ  
 πάντα εὐθυμούμενον.

30 *Παχῶν κε.*

Verso:

[τῷ] ἀδελφῷ (space) Θεοφάν[ε]ι [Ἐρ]μόδω[ρος].

6. ἵνα. 8. ὧν ἐπιστελεῖς. 9. υγιειαν· εἴη. 11. εὐφροσύνης· ἡς. 15. ἀπαλλάξαντα.  
 εὐθύμει. 16. 1. ἡμῶν.

... Hermodorus, greetings. I am giving myself joy in writing to you, and I pray that my letter be given to you when you are in good health and spirits. It is reasonable that you also, when you are writing to others, remember us too, so that we may rejoice all the more, knowing from what you write of your safety and good health, for which we pray. And may it be possible that we soon enjoy the greatest of good cheer over you, which we pray and hope to receive from the favour of the omnipotent god, getting you back strong in spirit and body and having fared well! Be of good heart too in the matter of your sons Anysius and Aphthonius, for they are in good health and do what is needful, attending at once to their business and to their public services,

and in good health too are their sisters with their mother and all in your house. Many salutations from your sister and our children and all in our house. I pray for your good health for many a year, lord brother, and may we soon get you back in good spirits in all respects. Pachon 26.' (Address) 'To my brother Theophanes, Hermodorus.'

<sup>1</sup> For Hermodorus cf. P. Ryl. iv. 630, *passim*, and see 2, Introd.

<sup>2</sup> [εὐ]φραίν[ων ἐμαντόν]: Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II. i, pp. 104 f.

<sup>3</sup> [εὐ]χομα: The chi is not certain, and it must be assumed that the trace has been distorted.

<sup>4 ff.</sup> The language is very stilted in these lines, and we can already see in them hints of that verbiage which was later to become customary in almost all private correspondence; but there is still a certain degree of feeling for style here, rarely to be found in the Byzantine period.

<sup>12 ff.</sup> παντοκράτορος: For παντοκράτωρ of pagan deities cf. LSJ, s.v., and especially Kaibel, *Epiogr. Gr.* 815 (of Hermes).

<sup>16</sup> A man named Anysius is the addressee of P. Ryl. iv. 625; see Introd. and note to l. 1.

#### 6. LETTER FROM BESODORUS TO THEOPHANES

(Plate, and plate of P. Ryl. 624)

Hermopolis (?)

24·5×21 cm.

Fourth century

The addressee of this letter is again Theophanes (see 2, Introd. and cf. 3-5). The writer, Besodorus, like John and Leon in 4, expresses the hope that Theophanes will soon return safe and sound from his journey with his object accomplished. As in the other letters from members of the circle of Theophanes' friends the style and language are literary. The first hand, which is the same as that of P. Ryl. iv. 624, is an elegant one, and marks of punctuation, accents, and rough breathings are again employed as well as iota adscript and diaeresis, the latter not consistently; the second hand is more rapid and cursive, sloping considerably from left to right, and may well be that of Besodorus himself.

The papyrus is of good quality but badly damaged: there are many holes, it has been crumpled and torn, and the ink has faded at the beginnings of lines. The verso has the address, written probably by the second hand, just possibly by a third.

τῶι δεσπότηι μου καὶ ἀδελφῶι Θεοφάνει Βησόδωρος

πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

ἥν ὡς ἀληθῶς [μοι] πόθος τις καὶ πολὺς ἐνκεῖ[μ]εν[ος] τῇ[ι] διανοίᾳ  
μον, ἀδελφε κύριε, δις τῇ σῆι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάστῃ ἐπιφανείαι  
5 τε καὶ λαμπρότητι τὸ ἀναπίμπλασθαι ἥδονῆς καὶ τ[ω]ν βουλομέ-  
νων τυχεῖν διὰ μόνης τῆς ὄψεως παρεσκεύαζεν· νῦν δὲ ὁ βρα-  
χὺς οὗτος χρόνος τῆς ἀποδημίας ποθεινοτέραγ τὴν θέαν ὅραν  
εὐχομένοις ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δὲν τῷ καμμίειν  
χρόνος ἐλάχιστος ὡν πολύς τις καὶ ἀμέτρητος τοῖς εἰρῶσι καὶ ποθοῦσι  
10 διαφαινεται. [οὐ]τῶ τοίνυν ταῦτὸν πάσχων, εὐχομαί τῆς τοιαύτης

#### 6. LETTER FROM BESODORUS TO THEOPHANES

11

ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐπιθυμίας, ἀφ' ᾧς καὶ θεωρεῖν σ[ε] τάχιστά μοι συμ-  
[βῆ]σται· ὡς γάρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διάκειμαι τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκάστοτε  
[π]αρεπιδημ[οῦ]τας τῶν ξένων ἐρω[τ]ῶν, ἔργον καὶ μακρὸν εἰπεῖν.  
15 οὐδὲν γάρ εἴστιν οὔτ' ἐντιμότερον οὔτ' ἵσχυρ[ό]τερον ἀδελφοῦ  
...ν...ι. ὡς [...]τον αὐτὸν πολλάκις [...]....[...]ξεν. ἔστι δέ  
μοι νῦν ἐπιμελ[έ]ς καὶ σφόδρα εὐκταῖογ τῶν [με]ν σοι κατορθωθέν-  
των πραγμάτων τὴν τύχην ἀκριβῶς καταμάθεν, ὅπως ἂν  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' οἷς ἐνδόξως διεκράζων μέγιστα ἡσθῶ· πιστεύω  
γάρ ἀκριβῶς κ[αὶ] θαρρῶ ὡς οὐδέν τι ἀγ[δ]ε[σ]ον οὐδὲν αὐτοπον συμβήσε-  
20 ται τ[ο]ιοῦ θεοῦ σο[ι] πρὸς πᾶσαν πρ[ά]ξιν συνθεμένο]ν, ἐφ' οἷς δικαίως  
τ...πρ.σι.[...]ς εὐεργετεῖν κατ' ἐμὲ [χρή]τοις γάρ ἀγαθοῖς τῷ  
ἀνθρώπων παρὰ θεοῦ ἀπόκεινται [πάμπολλα]ι τιμαί. εἴη δέ σε,  
κύριοις ἃδελφε, κατορθώσαντ[τ]α ὑγι[ῶς κατελθ]εῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.  
με[θ] ἥδονῆς κ[αὶ] χαρᾶς γάρ [ἡ]μῶν ἐπὶ τ[η]ν πατρίδα]ο ἡμῖν κατα-  
25 [βήσ]ει· ν. [κ]αὶ μειζ[...]α[...]λ[...]ι δότιον μοι ὑπ[  
[...]αν κατὰ τ[ο]ν βίον θεωρεῖται. ἐπειτα [τῶι] γε ὑψίστωι θεῶι  
χάριν τινὰ καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον ἄν, εἰ δύψει θεωρεῖν τὰ κατὰ σὲ  
πράγματα [οἱ]ος τ' ἦν ἐγώ, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν δέξε[τε] ἀρχῆς σοι στειλά-  
μ[ε]ιος· νῦν δὲ διόπτητος τοῦτο σαφεστ[έρ]ως ἀκοήι δέ-  
30 ξα[σ]θαὶ καὶ μα[θ]εῖν τὰ περὶ σὲ πράγματα [βού]λομαι ὡς τάχιστά  
τε καὶ εὐχομαι. ἀσπάζομαι σε πολλάκις, ἃδελφε ψυχῆς]  
ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὸν κατ' ὄνομα.

(2nd. h.) ἐρρωμένον σε ἀπολάβοιμι, δέσποτα ἃδελφε,  
τῶν ἡμῖν βουλομένων ἐγδόξως τυχόντα.

Verso:

35 ἀπόδ(ος) τῶι κυρίωι μ[ον] αδ[ελφῶι Θεοφάνει π(αρὰ) Βησόδωρον.

3. ὡς; 1. ἐγκείμενος. 4. ὁ. 6. παρεσκευαζεν. 5. οὐτος. 8. εμπεποιηκεν;  
ὅς καμμίειν. 9. εἰρῶσι, ποθοῦσι. 10. ταῦτὸν πάσχων. 11. επιθυμίας, ἡς. 12. στειλ-  
ως. 13. ερωτῶν, επειν. 14. οὔτ', οὔτ', ἵσχυρος. 15. ὡς, ξεν. 16. επιμελ[έ]ς.  
17. ὅπως ἄν. 18. οἷς, ἡσθω, ὡς; 1. διεκράζον. 19. οὐδεν. 20. θεοῦ, οἷς. 21. σι.  
22. τιμαί. 23. υγι[ῶς κατελθ]εῖν. 24. ἡμῖν. 26. θεωρεῖται, υψίστωι. 27. ἄν.  
28. [οἱ]ος τ' ἦν. 29. ακοήι. 30. Gap between σε and πράγματα. 31. Perhaps gap at  
beginning of line, the horizontal being the tail of xi above; gap between ασπάζο and μα. 34. Omega  
of βουλομένων a correction.

'To my master and brother Theophanes, Besodorus, very many greetings. I had in very truth a longing, pressing heavily on my mind, my lord brother, which by the mere sight of you caused me to be filled with pleasure and to find my heart's desire on every occasion when the brightness of your presence appeared in the city. But now

this short period of your absence has made the sight of you more desirable for us who pray to see you, since even the time spent in sleep, very short though it is, seems long and immeasurable to those who love and yearn. So then, suffering the same fate, I pray to be released from such yearning as soon as it shall fall to my lot to see you. For it would be a long task to tell how I feel on this score, making inquiries of strangers who come from any place on any occasion to stay here; for there is nothing more valuable or a greater source of strength than a brother's . . . And now it is a matter of concern to me and greatly to be desired to learn accurately how the affairs you have set right have fared, so that I too may rejoice greatly over matters about which I raised a conspicuous clamour; for I have a precise belief and confidence that nothing disagreeable or untoward will happen, if god assists you in every action over matters in which with justice, in my view, it is necessary to confer benefits on . . . ; for very many honours are reserved for good men by the god. And may it be that you, my lord brother, having succeeded in your mission, return safe and sound to your native land; for it will be with pleasure and joy on our part that you will return to your native land . . . Then would I render great thanks to the highest god, if I were able to see for myself how things are with you, having set out on the same journey as you from the beginning. But now I wish and pray by any means whatsoever to hear news of this as soon as possible and to learn the state of affairs with you. I greet you many times, brother in very truth of my soul, and all those with you by name. (2nd h.) May I get you back in good health, my master and brother, having obtained conspicuous success in achieving the things that we desire! (Address) 'Deliver to my lord brother Theophanes from Besodorus.'

15 Many possibilities have been examined in the hope of reconstructing this line, but so far none has been satisfactory. The xi of  $\xi\epsilon\nu$  may well be a zeta, as the letters are almost identical in this hand.

16 [με]ν: Perhaps [σν]ν.

20 [τ]ρῆ κτλ.: Also worth considering would be θεοῦ σω[τῆρ]ος followed by a transitive verb in the middle and governing the accusatives.

21 τ...πρ.σι.[...]: Clearly an accusative is required here, something perhaps like τοὺς προσ-ικτορας, but there is too much missing to permit certainty.

22 [πάμπολα]ι: Perhaps [άγαθά κα]ι τυμαι.

23 ὑψ[ῶς]: Or ὑψ[ῆ?]

25 Again it would be possible to advance a conjecture here which would give reasonable sense, but it has been thought better to leave the matter open.

28 δόξ[ν]: It is not certain whether this word is to be taken in a literal or metaphorical sense, but the fact that Theophanes is at present away on a journey suggests that the former may be preferable.

33 The use of a second hand at this point suggests that the first was that of a trained scribe and that Besodorus decided to finish off the letter by adding two lines himself and, probably, the address (see Introd., s.f.).

#### 7. LETTER FROM PSOIS TO APA JOHN

17·6×16·8 cm.

Fourth century

This letter, like 8-10, would appear to have come from the archive of an anchorite named Apa John. The writer reveals his identity in l. 13 but not at the beginning of

#### 7. LETTER FROM PSOIS TO APA JOHN

the letter nor in the address. This is not surprising, since the letter itself is clearly the work of a man whose knowledge of Greek was inadequate to the occasion: the grammar and syntax are both highly irregular, and yet the writer is often ambitious in his use of words and phrases. He appeals to the anchorite to write to an official, whose name, if one may trust the writer, is also Psois, in order to obtain his release from military service (ll. 6-8), and indicates the nature of his own financial embarrassment (ll. 8 ff., 16 ff.). Apparently he has already given Apa John a sum of money (ll. 10 f.) to obtain his release, but the anchorite has not done what was expected of him; in addition, his children have been given as security to a moneylender—by Apa John, if the verb in l. 16 is correctly written in the second person singular and not, as one might expect, in the first. Unfortunately, much of the meaning of the letter must remain uncertain in view of difficulties and doubts as to the correctness of the constructions.

The hand is a reasonably fluent and regular cursive of the fourth century. The papyrus has been drawn together towards the foot, giving it a lop-sided appearance; there are several holes at the foot in three roughly parallel, horizontal lines. Diaeresis is employed frequently. The address on the verso is by the same hand.

τῷ δεσπότι μου ἀγαπητὸς Ἀπα Ἰωάνης.  
 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ περὶ σοῦ βοηθή-  
 σον(τί) μαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσας  
 γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐζώσων σαι διὰ τὴν εὐσέβιαμ 〈πρὸς〉  
 5 τὸν παγτοκράτωρ. νῦν οὖν βοηθησόν μαι.  
 γράψον εἰς ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ψοῖς ἀπὸ Ταετῶ  
 ἀπὸ τριβούνου, ἵνα ἀπολύομαι ἐὰν μὴ ἀπο-  
 λυθήσομαι. ἦδη γὰρ ὁ νὺν Ψοῖς ἀπαίτησέ  
 μαι χρυσ(οῦ) νομ(ισμάτια) ζ' καὶ τοῦ βοηθὸς ἄλλα χρυσ(οῦ)  
 10 νομ(ισμάτιον) α'. ἔλαβες γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἵνα ἀπολύω-  
 μαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπόλυσόν μαι. ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν  
 15 ἵνα ἡ ἀπόλυσόν μαι ἡ παράδοτέ μοι τὸ χρυσ(οῦ)  
 νομ(ισμάτια) η'. ἐγὼ γάρ εἴμι Ψοῖς Κύλλος ἀπὸ  
 κώμης [Π]ώχεως τοῦ Ἀνταιουπολείτου νομοῦ.  
 νῦν οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, δέσποτα, διὰ τὸν [Θ]εό[ν].  
 20 ἦδη γὰρ τὰ τέκνα μου ἔδωκας ὑποθήκας  
 [τ]ῷ δανι[στ]ῆς διὰ τὸ χρυσάφιμ. καὶ οὐτέπο-  
 [τ]ε στρατεύομαι ἀνίκανος, ἐπὶ ἐστὶ μοι [πλ]έα  
 [ἀ]φορμὴ παρὰ τάκτυλος καὶ οὐ πεπύ[ωτ]ε  
 οὐδὲ οὐ 〈ἐ〉σφραγισμέν[ο]ς.

Verso:

ἀπόδος τῷ δεσπότης ἀναχωρη[τῇ] ω[άννῃ].

1. l. δεσπότη, ἀγαπητῷ, Ἰωάννῃ; ἰωανῆς.	2. Omega of second <i>τω</i> a correction.	3. ὥπο,	
first alpha of πασας a correction; l. μοι.	3, 4. l. πᾶσαι ψυχαί, ἔξω?; l. σοι, εὐσέβειαν.	5. l. παντο-	
κράτορα, μοι.	6. l. μίλιν ἐπιστολήν, Ψύδια; ψοῖς.	7. ἴνα; l. τριβούνων, ἀπολύματι, ει.	8. δύος
ψοῖς; l. Ψύδιος, ἀπήγησε.	9. l. με, αὐτοῦ, ἄλλο.	10. ἴνα.	11. l. ἀπέλυσαν?
12. l. παράδος, τά; ἴνα.	13. ψοῖς; l. Κύλλουν.	14. l. Πούχεως, Ανταιονπολίτου.	16. ὥποθηκας.
17. l. δανειστή, χρυσόφιον.	17, 18. l. οὐδέποτε.	18. l. στρατεύομαι, ἐπει.	19. l. δάκτυλον,
πεπίστωται; first tau of τακτύλος a correction of lambda.		20. Mu of σφραγισμε[ο]ς a correction;	πεπίστωται; first tau of τακτύλος a correction of lambda.
			high point after this word.
			21. l. δεσπότη.

'To my master, the beloved Apa John. I give thanks to God and whoever will assist me for your sake through you and through God; for all souls live through you because of your piety (towards) the Almighty. So now help me: write a letter to Psois from Taeto, ex-tribune, that I may be released—if I have not (by then) been released. For Psois' son has already demanded of me 7 gold *solidi* and his assistant another gold *solidus*; for you took (money) from me so that I might obtain my release, and they (?) have not released me. I ask God that you either release me or hand over to me the 8 gold *solidi*. For I am Psois son of Cyllus from the village of Pochis in the Antaeopolite nome. Now then do not neglect this, master, for God's sake; for you have already given my children as securities to the money-lender on account of the gold. And I never go on active service, being unfit; since I have a complete excuse for this by reason of my finger; it has not festered nor has it healed either.' (Address) 'Deliver to my master, the anchorite John.'

2 ff. The interpretation adopted is by no means satisfactory, and it is possible that a more radical attempt to reconstruct the text is needed. The reference in τῷ . . . βοηθήσοντι is vague, and the περὶ σοῦ followed by ὑπὸ σοῦ is disquieting. Similarly, the corrections of ψυχῆς and ἔξωσων and the insertion of πρός may be open to objections. A possible alternative solution could be:

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ αἰτῶ(ν) περὶ σοῦ βοηθή-  
σον μαὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· πάσας  
γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔξωσων σαι διὰ τὴν εὐσέβιαν  
τὸν παντοκράτω.

2, 3. l. βοηθήσομαι. 4. l. ψυχὰς ἔσωσέν σου. 5. l. δ.

Translation: 'I give thanks to God, and, if I ask in your name, I shall be helped by you and by God, for the Almighty saves all souls by reason of your piety.'

This interpretation too is open to objections: for example, the approved way to write καὶ αἰτῶν would be καὶ αἴτῶν (see LSJ s.v. καὶ D), and it is doubtful if even the present writer would put down τῶν and then immediately correct himself by following it up with a nominative. There are also other possibilities with regard to ἔξωσων: could it, for example, be for ἐστὶ ζώσων = ἐστὶ σάζων, a periphrasis for σάζει, or is it used actively here (= 'causes to live, quickens') (see LSJ, s.v. ζῶ i. 3)? The writer's grammar is so unreliable that certainty is impossible.

6 ἀπὸ Ταετῶ: The more usual spelling is Τοετῶ or Τοετό, but P. Lond. iv. 1460. 141 seems to have Ταετῶ.

8 ὁ νιὸς Ψοῖς: Perhaps = 'your son Psois', which would explain why Apa John is being appealed to.

9 χρυσ(οῦ): Perhaps χρύσ(ων) rather; cf. the end of the line and l. 12.

16 ἔδωκας: It might be better to read ἔδωκα here despite ἔλαβες in l. 10, since it would give better sense.

18 [πλ]έα: Also possible is [τελ]έα, although its spelling in papyri is usually τελεία, which is too long here.

## 7. LETTER FROM PSOIS TO APA JOHN

15

18 ff. Again the reconstruction of these lines is tentative only, and many objections could be raised to it, for example, to ἀντίκανος, πεπν[ωτ]αι, and the double negative in l. 20. But the interpretation as a whole seems to hang together.

## 8. LETTER TO APA JOHN

11·2 x 28·7 cm.

Fourth century

This letter contains many quaint phrases, but the spelling and handwriting are those of an educated man. Like 9, it is a request for prayers on behalf of the writer, supported by a plethora of salutations, good wishes, and genialities. Otherwise, it appears that the letter is intended to convey no more than a general impression of friendliness and concern for the recipient's welfare, and in this respect it resembles many of this period.

The papyrus upon which it is written on the recto is of poor quality and badly worn in places; there are several holes, and the line where upper and lower portions have parted company is very hard to read. The hand is unmistakably fourth-century, already showing traces of chancery influence but deteriorating, probably through haste. The verso contains the address.

τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τιμιω[τ]άτῳ καὶ εὐλαβε[σ]τάτῳ

Ἄπα Ιωάννῃ Η[...] Ά]βραὰμ

ἔν γε κ[υρ]ιῳ Θ(ε)ῷ χαίρειν.

ώς καὶ πιστεύω ὅτι μ[έλε]ται μου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου  
5 μον σοι, εὐχαριστῶ] τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ {σου}·  
οὕτω καὶ σον τὸ ἱερὸν πρόσωπον  
ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου γίγνωσκε με ἔχειν.  
προσαγορεύω σου τοιγαροῦν τὴν εὐλάβειάν  
{σου} διὰ τούτων μου τ[ῶν γ]ραμμάτων, παρ-  
10 καλῶν ὅπως μνημονεύῃς κάμοιν τοῦ σε  
προσκυνοῦντος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου μου  
ἐν αἷς ἀναπέμπεις [άει] καὶ μεθ' ημέραν  
εὐχαῖς τῷ κυρίῳ σωτῆρει ήμῶν.  
πέποιθα γὰρ ὡς διὰ τῶν ἀγιοτάτων  
15 σου εὐχῶν καὶ τῷ κ[α]μάτου τούτου  
ἐν φέρεις ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ  
ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς [ὑ]μᾶς. λοιπόν, δέσπο-  
τα, ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε,  
καταξίωσον ἔν γε μνήμαις ἔχειν

20 ήμᾶς. προσαγόρευε παρ' ἐμοῦ  
πάντας τοὺς [σὺν] σοὶ κάμνοντας  
ἀδελφούς. ὁ παντοκράτωρ  
Θεὸς διαφυλάξῃ σε ἐπὶ  
πολὺν χρόνον ἡμῖν  
25 τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς, ἵνα  
διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀγιοτάτων  
εὐχῶν διασώθωμεν  
διὰ τοῦ βίον.

Verso:

τῷ δεοπότῃ μου τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ εὐλαβ[εστάτῳ Ἀπα] Ἰωάννῃ.]

3. ε[ν] κω] θω. 6. Initial omicron enlarged. 9. σον in ethesis. 10. ο of οπως  
greatly enlarged. 12. l. καθ' ἡμέραν. 13. ν of κυριω corrected from ω; l. σωτῆρι. 14,  
26. l. ἀγιωτάτων. 27. l. διασωθῶμεν.

'To my master, most honoured and reverent Apa John, . . . son of Abraham, greetings in our Lord God. As I am also confident of your concern for me and for my house, I give thanks to your reverence; so too be sure that I hold your holy face in mind. Therefore I greet your reverence by this my letter, entreating you to remember both me who salute you and all my house in the prayers which you send up ever daily to the Lord our Saviour. For I trust that through your most pious prayers I may be relieved also from this trouble in which we are, and return to you. Therefore, master, truly man of god, be so good as to hold us in memory. Greet from me all the brethren who labour with you. May the Almighty God preserve you for a long time for us, sinners that we are, that through your most pious prayers we may be saved throughout our life.' (Address) 'To my most honoured and reverent (Apa John).'

<sup>2</sup> The trace read as eta may well have been the result of an erasure, and there is certainly very little room for another proper name before Α]βραάμ: it is possible, therefore, that Abraham was the name of the writer.

<sup>4</sup> ὁς καὶ: The omega is certain but none of the other letters dotted. Possibly ὁς σοι was written.

<sup>5</sup> μον γοι: Again there is no certainty here, and a reading μον καὶ would be possible with a comma after σον.

σον: The writer is prone to vulgar repetition of the pronoun, of which there are many examples in P. Mich. viii (see 482, 13–14 n.).

<sup>7</sup> ἐν τῇ διανοῇ κτλ.: See G. Müller, *Lexicon Athanasianum*, col. 323, citing Migne, PG 25. 581 A, 9; the phrase does not seem to be paralleled in the papyri but represents a natural development: P. Petr. ii. 13, 19, 12, P. Teb. ii. 334, 9, and P. Lond. iv. 1349, 34 provide three examples of very similar usages in the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods respectively.

γιγνωσκε: Cf. P. Fay. 117, 3; P. Gen. 74, 3 (with accusative and infinitive) with P. Teb. i. 12, 2; P. Hamb. i. 27, 13, where we find the accusative and participle; for further examples of the progressive displacement of the participial construction see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. γιγνωσκω and Blass-Debrunner, *Greek Grammar* (tr. R. W. Funk), p. 210.

<sup>12</sup> μεθ' ἡμέραν: καθ' cannot be read here, and a correction is necessary in order to make sense.

14 πέποιθα γὰρ ὡς: The infinitives which follow are anacolutha; cf. PSI iii. 168, 6 and see Mayser, *Grammatik*, ii. 1, p. 314; 3, p. 204, 3.

17 λοιπόν: Here no more than a loose connexion to mark transition to a new subject like an emphatic οὖν, as in modern Greek, but perhaps even 'therefore' is too strong and we should render 'at any rate'.

18 ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε: This is a definite echo of 1 Tim. 6, 11—Σὺ δέ, ὁ ἄνθρωπε Θεοῦ—where the phrase is usually rendered as 'man of God'; cf. Deut. 33, 1 and Ps. 90 (title). LSJ cite the N.T. example under 'slave', reading τοῦ Θεοῦ (sc. = 'slave of the Lord'). Other references are given in Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon*, and the phrase is significant as an example of the intrusion of biblical or quasi-biblical language into current idiom and usage.

19 ε[ν] μνήμασ: There can be little doubt that this is the correct reading, but it gives us a very strange use of the plural, where the singular μνήμη would be regular. Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., s.v. μνήμη cite two interesting examples from Hermas in which the phrase μνήμασ ἔχει is roughly equivalent to the Latin *memoriam habet* (= 'is remembered'), and it is possible that the writer of our letter has confused two different idioms.

## 9. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO JOHN

25·8×11·8 cm.

Fourth century

This letter is a request from Chaeremon to John, an anchorite, to remember him in his prayers. There are many examples in letters of such requests for intercessory prayers, some of the best known being P. Oxy. xii. 1494; P. Heidelb. i. 6; P. Jews, 1917, 1923, 1926, 1929. The last four, all letters to the anchorite Papnuthius, are particularly interesting in the present connexion, since it is clear that, although there would not appear to have been any insistence that the prayers of eremites or cenobites should be of an intercessory nature, it soon came to be recognized that their holiness and seclusion specially qualified them for the role of mediator.

There are many small holes and some large ones in this papyrus. The grammar and spelling are uncertain but not atrociously so. There is writing from top to bottom in the left margin, and the address on the verso is written across the fibres. The foot of the papyrus is missing.

τῷ δεοπότῃ μου πατρὶ

Ἰωάννῃ ἀποτακτι-

κῷ Χαιρήμων.

προη[γ]ονιμένως [[σεω]]

5 προσαγορεύω τὴν ἀμί-

μητόν σου διάθεσεν,

δ[έ]σποτα, καὶ παρακαλῶ

σ[ε] ὡς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ

μητήρις ἐμοῦ τοῦ

10 Χαιρήμονος. τοῦτο

C

δὲ ἐι' ποιήσειας, ἔσει μοι  
τὰ μέγιστά [μοι] χαρι-  
ζόμενος. καὶ εὐλόγησόν  
με καὶ εὐξαι τῷ κυρίῳ  
15 μου Θεῷ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡ-  
μέραις περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἀσπά-  
ζομαι τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς  
καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν  
λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ κυρί-  
20 [ο]υ μογ. ἐν πίστει (?) ἔχε

. . . . .

(In left margin)

ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸν ὑψιστὸν Θεὸν ἐπανάκιμαι τῇ σῇ θε[ο]ρ[εβείᾳ]  
(blank) καὶ πέπισμαι ως ταῦτι σαῖς εὐχαῖς οὐδὲν δύναμ[αι]  
[σφαλῆναι (?).]

Verso:

[τ]ῶ δεσπότη μου (space) Ἰωάνν[η] Χαρήμων.  
25 [ἀ]δελφῶ

2. ἰωαννη. 4. προη[γ]οῦμεν<sup>s</sup>. 6. l. διάθεσι. 9. l. μησθῆς. 15, 16. l. ἡμέρας;  
π of ασπα- corrected from a. 21. l. ἐπανάκιμαι. 22. l. πέπισμαι, δύναμαι.

'To my master and father John, anchorite, Chaeremon. Before all else I greet your inimitable disposition, master, and exhort you that in your prayer you remember me, Chaeremon. And, if you were to do this, you will be doing me the greatest favour. And bless me and pray to my Lord God night and day for me. I greet the beloved and those who love the word of my Lord God. Keep in the faith (?) . . . But after the highest God I rely on your piety and am persuaded that through your prayers I can in no wise (fail?).' (Address) 'To my master and brother John, Chaeremon.'

2 f. ἀποτακτικῶ : Cf. P. Flor. i. 71. 722; P. Lips. 28. 7, 27; and for ἀποτακτήρ with the same meaning P. Oxy. x. 1311. 1.

20 ἐν πίστει ἔχε : This is possible, with the object expressed in the next line; if correct, it could perhaps be a reminiscence of the legal phrase and have a different sense from that suggested.

21 f. These lines have been written vertically in the left margin; for this practice see the editorial note on P. Mert. ii. 93. 34.

23 [σφαλῆναι] : Inserted *exempli gratia*; if it were correct, it would have been written in the next line, as there is scarcely room for it after δύναμ[αι], and could have been followed by ἔρρωσο.

25 [ἀ]δελφῶ : Since there is no evidence of blood-relationship, we may suppose that Chaeremon used πατρὶ in l. 1 and ἀδελφῶ here; in that case we should have to read downward rather than across the address, as often. Otherwise we should have to correct the dative to the nominative ἀδελφός, which is less satisfactory.

## 10. LETTER FROM JOHN AND OTHERS

12·5×7·7 cm.

Fourth century

This fragment contains the greater part of a Christian letter, written by an anchorite named John and others to a man whose name has disappeared but who may well have been an ecclesiastic of high rank. After an expression of their appreciation of his help in the past, the writers ask him to intervene on their behalf with the judge, being faced with the prospect of a trial on a false charge (l. 11). The Coptic names and the use of the Coptic masculine article (l. 2), together with the biblical flavour of the phraseology, give this fragment its special interest.

It is written on papyrus of fair quality in a regular but rather careless cursive of the fourth century. Part of the left margin and the foot of the letter have disappeared; an attempt has been made to supply some of the lacunae on the left-hand side, but the estimate of the number of letters missing is only approximate. The verso is blank.

[ ±10 ] Θεῷ μεμελημένῳ  
[ ±8 ] Ιωάννης παναχωρητής  
[ καὶ ±5 ] ιος καὶ Σόΐς καὶ Πατονωε. 4  
[ ] ἐν κ(υρι)ῳ χαίρειν.  
5 [ ] εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ  
[ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ φιλ]ανθρωπίᾳ σου. ὥσπερ γάρ  
[ ±10 τὸ]ν ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν ἀγῶ-  
[ να ἀγωνίζει κ]αὶ ἡμῶν βοηθὸς  
[ ±8 ] εἰς σὲ γάρ ἐρύθαμεν  
10 [ἀπασαν τ]ὴν μέριμναν, ἀφ' οὐ κατέσχε  
[ ±8 τ]ὴν ψευδοκατηγορίαν ταύ-  
[ την ±6 ].ν. καὶ δεόμεθα ὅπως  
[ ±8 ] σου ἡ φιλανθρωπία εἰς ἡ-  
[ μᾶς καὶ αἰτ]ήσῃς τὸν δικαστὴν ἀκοῦ-  
15 [σαι ἡμῶν,] Γάλλον δὲ ὑπομνήσαι αὐ-  
[ θει (?) ±10 ] π[ιστ]εύομεν ως  
[ . . . . . ]

2. l. Ἰωάννης. 4. εν κώ. 9. l. ἐρρίψαμεν.

<sup>1</sup> μεμελημένῳ : Probably best taken as passive (= 'in God's keeping'); cf. P. Cair. Masp. i. 67089 D, 2, and see P. Jews 1917, 1 n.

<sup>2</sup> παναχωρητής : The Coptic masculine article is combined with a noun, as in P. Lond. v. 1709. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Πατονωε. 4 : There are many proper names which begin with Πατονω- but none of them will fit here. Possibly the proper name should end at the omega, leaving the remaining letters as part of

a new word or name which is continued in the next line. ἐπι· at once suggests itself, and the pi is possible.

<sup>4</sup> Both in this line and the next there is a space before the writing recommences after the lacuna, although in l. 5 it is possible that letters have been completely obliterated.

<sup>7</sup> f. τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν κτλ.: This is probably a reminiscence of the familiar phrase; cf. P. Flor. i. 36. 26 (translation corrected in *WB* iv) and LSJ, s.v. iii. 1.

<sup>10</sup> κατέσχε: Perhaps continued in the next line—κατέσχε·s.

<sup>15</sup> μᾶλλον cannot be read.

### 11. LETTER FROM MEGAS TO OLYMPIUS

25.3×8.9 cm.

Fourth century

The entire letter is preserved, and there are no problems of reading. After a gentle rebuke to Olympius for not having obeyed instructions to keep him informed about his circumstances and doings in Sarbittium, Megas goes on to urge him to write and to return before the winter, as soon as he has completed the business on which he is engaged: this appears to include the purchase of ὀλοκόττινοι (= 'gold coins'), loosely described in the next clause as ἀργύριον (= 'money'), money being easier to carry than the goods which are to be exchanged for them. Megas is a well educated man and expresses himself in a style which argues an acquaintance with literature; the letter is very much on a level with those in W. Döllstädt, *Griechische Papyrusbriefe im gebildeter Sprache aus den ersten vier Jahrhunderten nach Christus*.

The papyrus is written on the recto in a practised and legible fourth-century hand but with a pen which tends to smudge and ink which has faded in places. Diaeresis and apostrophe are both used. The verso is blank.

*Mέγας Ὁλυμπίῳ χαίρειν.*

θαυμάζω πᾶς

ἐπελάθου τῶν ἐμῶν

ἐντολῶν, ὃν πολλά-

5 κις σοι κατ' ὅψιν ἐ-  
ντειλάμην, περὶ τοῦ

συνεχῶς μοι δηλώ-

σαι πρῶτον μὲν πε-

ρὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου,

10 ἔπειτα περὶ πάντων

ῶν ἐπράξας ἐν Σαρβιτ-

τίῳ, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μικρῶς

ἀγωνιῶ. καίτοι γε πολ-

### 11. LETTER FROM MEGAS TO OLYMPIUS

λῶν κατερχομένων

15 πρὸς ἐμέ, κανὸν νῦν οὖν

πάντα ὑπερθέμενος γρά-

ψον μοι περὶ πάντων τῶν

κατὰ σὲ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς πάν-

τα ποίει καὶ ἐὰν εὑρῆς ὀλο-

20 κ[ο]πτίνοις ἀγοράσαι, ὅλον

τὸ ἀργύριον ἀγόρασον, ἵνα

εὐχερῶς κατέλθης με-

τ' αὐτῶν πρὸς με. φιλονεί-

κησον μέντοι γε πάντα διοι-

25 κῆσαι καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς

καὶ οὕτως κατελθεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ

πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος.

ἔρρωσθαι, δέσποτα,

σὲ εὔχομα[ι].

11, 12. σαρβιτίῳ.

16. ὑπερθέμενος.

19, 20. ὀλοκοπτίνοις.

21. ἵνα.

23–24. 1. φιλο-

'Megas to Olympius, greetings. I wonder how you have forgotten my instructions, which I often gave you when I was with you, about keeping me informed all the time, first as to your personal well-being and then about all your doings at Sarbittium, knowing as you did that I am in great distress. Yet, when many are coming down my way, now then at least write to me about everything concerning yourself and conduct all your business safely and, if you find *solidi* to buy, buy all the money (you can), so that you can return home with ease with them to me. But strive nevertheless to manage everything well and safely, and so to return home to me before the winter. I pray for your good health, master.'

<sup>4</sup> ὅν: The relative attraction is found again in l. 11 and was clearly favoured by Megas.

<sup>5</sup> κατ' ὅψιν: Cf. P. Oxy. viii. 1154. 4, where the same verb is used, and several other examples cited in *WB*.

11 f. Σαρβιτίῳ: Cf. P. Ryl. iv. 643 ii. 7, possibly Hermopolite.

15 κανὸν οὖν: Cf. P. Rein. 52. 6; P. Oxy. xvii. 2151. 7.

19 f. ὀλοκοπτίνοις: = 'solidi' in P. Oxy. ix. 1223. 32; vii. 1026. 5; CPR 19. 10; P. Gen. 68. 8; &c. All these are Byzantine documents, but a neuter form is also found. In some cases there is a distinction between ὀλοκόττινος (-ον) (= 'gold') and ἀργύριον = 'silver'), but here the two are synonymous.

23 δέσποτα: Conventional here: if anything, Megas seems to be the superior, judging by the tone and content of his earlier remarks.

**12. LETTER FROM DIOMEDES TO SERENUS**

(Plate, with 4)

6·9 × 7·4 cm

Fourth century

Diomedes writes to his 'son' Serenus, expressing his confidence in him and referring to his proposed use of *Κρητική* (sc. γῆ) for fulling. It is clear that fulling must be the process discussed in ll. 10 f.; see W. Ost. i, pp. 226, 264; Reil, *Gewerbe*, p. 104; Enc. Britannica, s.v. *Fuller's Earth*. One of the common ways of fulling was to tread the cloth with the feet while it was being washed with water and natron, the latter being 'one of the principal cleansing agents of the ancient world' (see P. Mert. ii. 70, 8 n.). Here it would seem that natron had already been tried and had not given as good results as had been desired; so now 'Cretan earth' was to be tried for the cleansing of the wool, and Diomedes hopes that it will be more successful.

The hand in which the papyrus is written on the recto is minute but neat and legible, upright and without many cursive features. There are a few small holes, especially at the folds, one-third and two-thirds across the width; but they do not greatly hamper our reading. The address on the verso is written in large, uncial letters across the fibres. There are traces of letters at the foot of the papyrus where it has been torn away, which are almost certainly the remains of a date.

Verso:

*Σε]ρήνωι : φίλω*

### 7. 1. τεχνίτου

10. *ει και*: some trace of a corrected letter below the kappa

12. LETTER FROM DIOMEDES TO SERENUS

'Diomedes to his esteemed son Serenus, greetings. I knew exactly the enthusiasm which you would display towards us, and I learnt of it alike from Heliodorus and from your letter. Trusting to this and to the promise made by the craftsman, I assume that you have received Cretan earth and pray that it has turned out as you expected in reality, even though the nap has become thicker than the cleaned wool because of being worked over a good deal. I pray for your health and for your instructions as to whatever you wish. Demetrius greets you and so do all my family, your friends and acquaintances. Enjoy good health, my esteemed one, I pray you. Epeiph 2.(?).' (Address) 'To my dear Serenus.'

**8 Κρητικήν**: The expression *γῆ Κρητική* is cited in this sense by Sophocles, *Lexicon*, and is no doubt equivalent to the Latin *creta*, which is known to have been used for cleansing garments; we may compare the reference to 'Cimolian earth' in Ar. *Frogs*, 712. The Latin *creta* is commonly connected with the island Creta, e.g. by Isid. 16. 1. 6—*creta ab insula Creta*—a derivation for which three reasons are advanced in Forcellinii-Facciolati, *Lexicon*, p. 509; others, however, have believed this derivation to be false and based solely on the nearness of Cimolus to Crete (see Page, n. on Horace, *Odes* i. 36. 10). Plaut. *Poenulus*, 969 and *Aul.* 719 both refer to *creta* as a cleansing agent, but *cretice*, cited from *CIL* iv. 1264 in *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. is almost certainly irrelevant.

10 f. κροκύδια . . . καθαρᾶς: These words refer to the process of fulling, which cleans and at the same time thickens the nap (see J. Kalleris, *ai πρῶται ὥλαι*, p. 156, n. 3). καθαρᾶ ἐρέα presumably means the wool after its first washing as contrasted with ἐρέα ρύνηρά, and it may be that in the present instance the washing had been done with water only (cf. Kalleris, op. cit., pp. 152 ff.) or with natron; whatever the actual process used, it would appear that the use of Cretan earth was considered to be necessary, even though this would involve intensive treatment and thicken the nap.

<sup>16</sup> Ἐπειφ κ[.] : Epsilon, phi, and kappa are all reasonably certain, the other letters less so, and the line above kappa and the next letter is clear. There are no traces below γνώριμοι, so that it is unlikely that the sentence continued after ἔρωσό μοι.

### 13. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIUS TO PETER

21·7×12·4 cm.

#### **Fourth century**

The writer of this letter is Nilammon, who is writing on behalf of Papnuthius (see l. 2 of *app. crit.*) and asking the addressee to send by the bearer of the letter the purse of money which should have been sent by a previous messenger; he emphasizes his need of the money and his inability to come in person for it. The interesting feature is that the scribe himself takes over when he comes to the salutation (ll. 13 ff.). It is quite possible that Papnuthius was so angry that he would have no part in sending greetings to one who had so offended him and neglected his request.

The letter is badly mutilated and written in a large, clumsy hand on the recto of papyrus of poor quality. There is a large hole running almost through the whole of the middle of the papyrus and other, smaller holes as well; there are very faint traces, possibly the remains of the address, on the verso, but they are unfortunately illegible.

κυρίω μο[ν πατ]ρὶ Πέτρῳ

*Παπνοὺς θέμιστος χαίρειν.*

*καθὼς παρατέθικά σοι τὰ*

μαρσίππῳ τοῦ κέρματος,  
 5 ἀπόδοσις αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναδ[ι]-  
 δοῦντι [σοι] ταῦτά μου  
 τὰ γράμματα· ὁ γάρ ἀποστά-  
 λεῖς ὑπὲρ μοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκας.  
 νῦν οὖν ὃ[πό]δος αὐτὰ ἄρτι,  
 10 ὅτι ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ εἰμὶ καὶ  
 οὐ δύναμαι εἶλθεν ἐπ' αὐτά,  
 χρίαν αὐτῷ νέῳ[ι]χων.  
 ἀσπάζομαι σοι ἐγὼ Νιλάμ-  
 μων ὁ γράφας τὴν ἐπιστο-  
 15 λὴν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς  
 κατ' ὄνομα.

2. l. Παπνούθιος. 3. l. παρατέθηκα . . . τό. 4. l. μαρσίππων. 5. l. αὐτό. 6. -δόντι.  
 7, 8. l. τῷ γάρ ἀποσταλέντι. 8. ὑπερ. 12. l. χρέαν. 13. l. σε.

'To my lord and father Peter, Papnuthius, greetings. As I have deposited with you the purse of money, give it to the one who delivers to you this my letter; for you did not give it to the man who was sent on my behalf. So now just give it, since I am away from home and unable to come for it, though I have need of it. I, Nilammon, who wrote the letter, greet you and all the brothers by name.'

2 f. The supplements in both lines are rather small for the space which they have to fill, but it is quite likely that the writer spread himself in both places in view of the poor state of the papyrus at the join.

9 ff. αὐτά . . . αὐτά . . . αὐτῷ: The writer slips unconsciously into the plural, no doubt thinking of the money concerned as plural rather than the purse.

12 έ[ι]χων: The writer began with ει and then, realizing that he needed a present participle and not an imperfect indicative, changed the iota into a chi.

#### 14. LETTER

15.8 x 24.6 cm.

Late fourth century

The lower portion, perhaps a half, of this letter survives on the recto of papyrus of fair quality. Seven hands may be detected on the recto: one, thin, clear, and fluent, wrote the main body of the letter; the greetings were then added by six others, the first five to the right being cramped and rather hurried, the sixth to the left larger and more ornate. On the verso are traces of the address, written in a hand which does not appear to be the same as any on the recto; these are on the extreme right along the fibres and were presumably intended to be left exposed when the letter was folded.

The layout is most interesting. In order to facilitate the enumeration of lines, the

#### 14. LETTER

greetings in the seventh hand have been placed below the others, but on the papyrus they occupy the space to the left of them and below the main body of the letter. It would seem probable that the writer of the letter, having conveyed his message in the names of all seven, as the use of plural verbs and pronouns suggests, then left the other six to add their greetings themselves contrary to the usual practice, according to which he would have given their greetings in the third person. The first five, in adding their greetings, did not observe the original alignment; instead, they wrote their greetings in smaller hands, one beneath the other, in the bottom right-hand corner. The seventh person then used the unoccupied left-hand side to add further greetings to the recipient's companions, and spread himself more generously. The letter was then folded and addressed in a hand not identifiable with certainty.

Two further points of interest may be noted: first, the sixth hand is similar to, though perhaps not identical with, the first; secondly, while Corellius addressed the recipient as *νιέ*, the others preferred the more dignified *πάτρων*, nor did they follow him exactly in the order of words used in the greeting.

.....[...].[.].[.].[.].[.].  
 καὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς γινώσκομεν ὅτι κατελέγημεν τούτοις  
 παρὰ τῇ σῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς [[σου]] διαθέσει. γίνωσκε δὲ τοὺς  
 σους πάντας καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑγιαίνειν· καὶ δεόμεθα γράφειν  
 5 ἡμῖν ὅπως ἐγνωκότες τὰ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας σου εὐθυμή-  
 σωμεν καὶ πανσώμεθα ὀλιγωροῦντες. (2nd h.) Κορέλλιος ἐρρώσθαι σε  
 εὔχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις, κύριέ μου νιέ.  
 (3rd h.) Διδυμος ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὔχομαι,  
 κύριέ μου πάτρων.  
 10 (4th h.) Φιδείας ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 εὔχομαι, κύριέ μου πάτρων.  
 (5th h.) Πατῶς ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 εὔχομαι, κύριέ μου πάτρων.  
 (6th h.) Άλης ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 εὔχομαι, κύριέ μου πάτρων.  
 15 (7th h.) ἀσπαζόμεθα Διόσκορον καὶ  
 Εύδαιμονα καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ  
 παῖδας.  
 Verso:  
 (8th h.) ..ε.φευτ..  
 20 καὶ Άλητος καὶ Πατῶτος  
 3. σου cancelled by three horizontal strokes. 7. νιέ. 10. l. Φιδείας.

'... for, in fact, we know precisely that we were selected for these (tasks) by reason of your disposition toward us. Be assured that all your family and we ourselves are in good health. And we ask you to write to us, so that, knowing the truth about your well-being, we may be of good cheer and cease to worry.' (Greetings and address follow.)

<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τῇ σῇ κτλ.: The dative with *παρά* is very curious here, and we should certainly expect a genitive.

γίνωσκε κτλ.: Cf. 8, 7 n.

6 ὀλιγωροῦντες: Cf. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, for the sense 'faint, swoon' in Theoph. 513. 5.

### 15. LETTER

13·6×13 cm.

Late fourth/early fifth century

The main interest of this letter lies in its quaint phraseology and peculiarities of spelling. It would appear that the writer was the steward—*πάτερ* in l. 2 must not be pressed at this time—of the addressee, employed in the conduct of affairs on his estate and reporting on arrangements which he has made with regard to wine, as well as on other matters. The interpretation of the reference to the wine (ll. 2–4, 6 f.) depends on the corrections adopted of *ἐξηφάνησα* and *ζήφωνα* (see 2 f., 6 nn.). The second point raised is the need to call in a veterinary surgeon to attend to a donkey's foot (ll. 8 ff.).

The neat hand and atrocious spelling form an odd contrast. The letter is written on the recto of papyrus of only fair quality in a regular and upright hand which is on the large side and slightly ornamental; the beginning and end are missing, and there are a few traces on the verso which are illegible but may be of a word in the address.

• • • • •

Θ(ε)ῷ.  
 μάθαι, κύρι πάτερ, ὅτι εἰδούν ἐξη-  
 φάνησα μετὰ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου  
 τοῦ νομίσματος κάδες =νζ=.  
 5 έὰν θέλις, δὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλις  
 καὶ πῆσον τὰ ζήφωνά σου μετ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ, εἴνα κηδ{ι}εύει(?) τὸν οἶνον.  
 καὶ βλέπε περὶ τοῦ ὄνου, ὅτι τὰ  
 ἡποκάτω τοῦ ποδίου αὐτοῦ πονᾶ-  
 10 φέρε τὸν ἱατρὸν καὶ πήσει αὐτό

• • • • •

1. θῶ. 2. l. μάθε, κύριε, ιδού. 2, 3. l. ἐσιφάνησα? 4. l. κάδους. 5. l. θέλης,  
 δὸς αὐτῷ ὁ θέλεις. 6. l. ποίησον, οιφώνια(?). 7. l. ίνα, κηδεύη (?)�. 9. l. ὡποκάτω, πονεῖ.  
 10. l. ποίει.

### 15. LETTER

27

'... (in the Lord) God. I should like you to know, my lord father, that I siphoned (?) with Theodosius 57 jars at a *solidus*. If you like, give him what you like, and do your siphoning (?) with him, so that he may look after (?) the wine. And see about the donkey, for the sole of its foot is giving trouble; bring the vet, and do it....'

<sup>1</sup> The beginning would have run ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνα ἀγαπητῷ πατρὶ ἐν κ(υρι)ῳ Θ(ε)ῷ or something like it.

<sup>2</sup> κύρι: Cf. S. G. Kapsomenakos, *Voruntersuchungen*, pp. 100 f., 124.  
 εἰδούν: This is virtually untranslatable here.

<sup>2</sup> f. ἐξηφάνησα: If this is corrected to *ἐσιφάνησα*, the reference will be to the common operation of siphoning the wine into jars from casks, the *σίφων* being a tube or pipe used for various purposes, sometimes with wine (cf. P. Eleph. 5. 4), at other times for the irrigation of the fields (see Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, p. 118 and n.). The verb *οιφωνία* is not given in *WB* but is at least as old as Aristophanes (see *Thesm.* 557). The change from *σ* to *ζ* is quite common (see Mayser, *Grammatik*, i, p. 204 and n. 1). The change from *τ* to *η* is also attested but is less frequent than the reverse (see *ibid.*, pp. 84 f. and especially the quotation from Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 138); it is well expressed by the word *Etacismus*. On the other hand, the suggestion that we should correct to *ἐγιμφάνησα* and translate 'I agreed with Theodosius on a rate of 57 jars to the *solidus*' is also attractive: it gives good sense, as would 'make your own terms with him' in l. 6, reading *σύμφωνα*; but it would involve the assumption of a much more radical error, and there is no parallel either for the change of *νυ* to *η* or for the position of the temporal augment—though here one might argue that the compound was sufficiently familiar to justify its treatment as a simple verb (cf. Funk, *Greek Grammar*, § 69).

<sup>4</sup> κάδες: There is no regular change of *ον* into *ε* which can be cited here as a parallel. The error is probably due to ignorance, though it could be an instance of the vulgar development of the 3rd declension (Funk, op. cit., §§ 46–48), as in the frequent replacement of the accusative *-as* by the nominative *-es*, e.g. *τέσσαρες* (see Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, ii, §§ 32, 61). On *κάδος* as a wine-measure see C. Ricci 'La Cultura della Vite' in *Studi d. Scuol. Pap.* iv. 1, p. 74, referring to A. Castiglioni, id. iii, pp. 136 ff., and also p. 55, n. 4; cf. too Schnebel, op. cit., pp. 75 ff.; Reil, *Gewerbe*, pp. 43, 65.

<sup>5</sup> δές: Cf. O. Tait, ii. 1994. 2.

τό: Cf. Kapsomenakos, op. cit., p. 117, but possibly it is a simple error.

<sup>6</sup> πῆσον: The writer does not appear to have run his omicron and eta together. It is probable, therefore, that this is an example of the fusion of two η sounds mentioned by Mayser, op. cit., p. 149, with the difference that in his examples the *οι* prevails; cf. Deissmann's note on Meyer, *Griech. Texte*, 20. 19 (*πεῖν* for *ποιεῖν*).

<sup>7</sup> ζήφωνα: If the suggested correction be adopted, perhaps the phrase should be translated 'make your siphons'; the diminutive is found only in Hesychius, and it would be possible to read *τὸν σίφωνα* instead. On the other hand, again, *σύμφωνα* would be a better correction, if one were looking for more normal syntax and sense (see 2 f. n.).

<sup>7</sup> κηδ{ι}εύει(?)<sup>1</sup>: This is advanced only as one of several possible solutions, none of which is wholly satisfactory; the main objection to it is that *κηδεύω* is a literary word, except in the sense 'inter', and, in any case, is rather colourless. If it were adopted, one would have to suppose a confusion with *κινδυνεύω*. If *κινδυνεύει* itself were read, then it would have to be assumed either that a negative has been omitted or that *ίνα* is causal here—for this rare usage cf. Funk, op. cit., § 369(2)—and the accusative *τὸν οἶνον* should be corrected to a nominative. The most interesting possibility is perhaps to correct kappa into mu and read *μηδινεύῃ* (= 'see that he does not stir up the wine, i.e. the lees'), taking the clause as imperative, but this is a little arbitrary. For the change of the inflexion -η to -ει see Mayser, op. cit., pp. 128 ff.

<sup>8</sup> f. τὰ ἡποκάτω τοῦ ποδίου: Undoubtedly the sole is meant, but the phrase is without exact parallel, so far as we know.

<sup>10</sup> πήσει: This is a simple case of *Etacismus* (cf. 2 f. n.), different from *πῆσον* (for *ποιησον*) in l. 6.

## 16. LETTER

7·4×28·5 cm.

Fifth century

This letter might well be an interesting and important document in the long struggle to create a celibate priesthood. As far as it is possible to be certain, it is an appeal to the head of a religious community to pardon a member who has been in trouble and seeks readmission. The key words are [ε]λευθέραν in l. 3, which must mean 'wife' here, and [τό]πον in l. 5, which is well attested in the sense of 'Christian community'. The person concerned, on whose behalf the appeal is being made, had apparently entered the community late in life and was now being required to divorce his wife (l. 4), whom he had married many years ago and who was thus no longer a young woman. It is possible that the addressee of the letter was a bishop (see 6 n.).

The letter is written in a fluent, fifth-century hand on the recto of papyrus of fair quality and very light colour; at least one line, probably more, is missing from the head together with some of the left margin. The papyrus has parted into two almost equal portions. The verso is blank.

[πρ]εσβύτερον καὶ συγχώρ[η]σοι [αὐτῷ] ±12 Μ[ c. 15 ]  
 [τό]πον (?), ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὀλίγως θλίβεται· μ[η] ἀποτύχω οὖν τῆς ἐμῆς παρακλήσεως.  
 [π]ρὸ πολλοῦ γάρ τοῦ χρόνου ἔλαβεν τὴν [ε]λευθέραν αὐτοῦ καὶ, ὡς νομίζω, οὐ  
 δύναται  
 [ε]κβαλεῖν αὐτήν. (space) παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμ[ᾶς] σπλαχνίσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 ταλαιπωρίας  
 5 [καὶ] δοῦναι αὐτῷ τύπον τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν [τό]πον αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν μου  
 τῶν γραμμάτων,  
 [π]ροσκυνῶν τὰ ἵχνη τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρικῆς δεσποτείας ἄχρι θέας, δέσποτα,  
 ἀγιώτατε πάτερ.<sup>+</sup>  
 4. l. σπλαχνίσαι; ὑπερ. 6. ἵχνη; ὑμετέρας.

'... priest, and pardon him (?) ... since he is in no small distress. Let me not then fail of my petition; for he took his wife a long time ago, and, in my view, cannot divorce her. So I beseech you to have compassion for his unhappy plight and to give him a decision to (enable him to) enter his religious community. And, the most important part of my letter, I worship the footsteps of your fatherly lordship until I see you, master, most holy father.'

<sup>1</sup> [πρ]εσβύτερον: Probably refers to the fact that the man whose case is being pleaded has become a priest.

<sup>3</sup> ἔλαβεν: Cf. P. Eleph. i. 2; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67092. 9; 67121. 8, and the examples cited in Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. λαμβάνω, i, c.

## 16. LETTER

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[ε]λευθέραν: For ἔλευθέρα = 'wife' cf. P. Oxy. xvi. 1872. 8; P. Lond. v. 1711. 68; P. Apoll. Ano 41. 5; 46. 4. Elsewhere, of course, it frequently means 'freedwoman' (see LSJ, s.v. ἔλευθερος, 1(b)).

<sup>4</sup> σπλαχνίσαι: WB has one example of the passive voice used as a deponent = 'have sympathy with' (P. Flor. iii. 296. 23, 6th cent.), and there are many parallels in the N.T., e.g. *Ev. Marc.* 6. 34; 8. 2; *Ev. Matt.* 9. 36; see Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., s.v. σπλαχνίζομαι and Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v., where Lightfoot's view—that the verb was 'perhaps a coinage of the Jewish Diaspora'—is quoted with approval. If σπλαχνίσαι is infinitive here, then we have an instance of the replacement of middle by active forms which is known to the grammars, e.g. R. W. Funk's edition and translation of Blass-Debrunner, § 310 and L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, pp. 146-8. The possibility that this is an aorist middle imperative used paratactically is ruled out by δοῦναι in l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> τύπον: Probably = 'decision'; cf. LSJ, s.v. ix. 6; WB s.v. 2b; *Fachw.* 2, 3. If the rendering is right, there is a positive hint that the addressee is a bishop, a suggestion which the general tone of the letter and the titles employed tend to support.

<sup>6</sup> [π]ροσκυνῶν: In view of the ecclesiastical flavour of the letter, this is best taken in a religious sense = 'community'; for this sense and the way in which it was acquired see G. Ghedini, 'δ τόπος' nel P. Oxy. 1492' in *Aegyptus*, 2 (1921), pp. 337 f.

<sup>6</sup> [π]ροσκυνῶν: If a participle is correct here, then our view about the amount missing from the left margin needs revision, but there is no other support for the assumption that several words have gone.

<sup>7</sup> τῆς ὑμετέρας κτλ.: Used as an address to a bishop (?) in P. Lond. iii. 1075. 2; 1081. 1; cf. P. Berl. Zilliacus 14. 1 n.

ἄχρι θέας: Cf. P. Oxy. xvi. 1860. 15.

## 17. LETTER FROM LEUCHIS TO APA JOHN

9·6×27·4 cm.

Fifth/sixth century

This letter is from a widow named Leuchis to Apa John, asking him to intercede with a tribune, Gunthus by name, on her behalf and to press him to evict from her house some women (αὐτάς, l. 5) who are making a nuisance of themselves. Here the tribune would be acting as a police official, as in P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67054 i. 6; 67056 ii. 3; 67058 iii. 22; iii. 67287 ii. 4, and elsewhere. (The exercise of such police functions by the military is not uncommon and recalls the use of centurions for judicial duties.) As for the women, it is not hard to guess what they were: they were surely camp-followers of the kind that is always to be found in the vicinity of military garrisons, in this case not wives but licensed ἔραιραι and so not easy to dislodge, however ill-behaved. The situation called for military intervention, and Leuchis considered Apa John to be the most likely person to be able to effect it.

The appeal to an ecclesiastic reflects on the considerable influence which the Church by now exercised on social life in general and on the military in particular. J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, pp. 151 ff., calls attention to this in his comments on a well-known letter from a priest to Abinnaeus (P. Lond. ii, p. 299, 417; P. Abinnaeus 32), in which an appeal is made for pardon for a soldier. Leuchis' request is not, therefore, an unreasonable one, and the use of the pronoun without further explanation in l. 5 suggests that an earlier letter or letters had already acquainted Apa John with the problem.

The papyrus raises an interesting question of dating. The letter is written on the verso across the fibres in a large, sloping hand which might well be placed in the fifth century. But on the recto, written along the fibres, is a fragment of a much larger letter in a sixth-century hand, and the fact that it would appear to take up a considerably greater width of sheet suggests that it antedates the letter on the verso. It is safer to leave the date of the latter fairly open, especially as the hand in which it is written is never regular and too unpractised to be a reliable guide to its date; palaeographical considerations make it impossible to connect it with the archive represented by 7-10.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου θεωσεβῆ Ἀπα Ἰωάνην Λεῦχις Μάλαμος.  
ἡ χρηστώτητά σου κατέλαβεν πάντας τοὺς μὲν δυναμένους.  
καμέ φθάσι ἡ ἐλεγμωσύνη σου, κύριε. μετὰ τῶν Θεὸν  
τὴν σὴν βοήθιαν προσδωκῶ, ἵνα ἀξιώσις τῶν τρι-  
5 βοῦντων τῶν Γοῦνθον καὶ ἅρῃ αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας  
μου, ἐπὶ χήρᾳ γυνῇ εἰμι. κύριε μου, διὰ τῶν Θεῶν πάντων.

1. θεωσεβῆ, Ἰωάνην (ῥαρ. Ἰωαννην), Μαλάμον. 2. 1. χρηστότης, μή. 3. 1. φθάσῃ,  
ἐλεγμωσύνη, τὸν Θεόν. 4. 1. βοήθιαν προσδοκῶ, τὸν; ἵνα; 1. ἀξιώσης; gap of two letters between  
προσ- and δωκω. 5. 1. -βοῦντων τὸν Γοῦνθον; gap of two letters between βοῦντων and τῶν.  
6. 1. ἐπει, τὸν Θεόν ποτε.

To my lord the pious Apa John, Leuchis (daughter of) Malamus, greetings. Your goodness embraces all the incapacitated; and let your compassion extend to me too, my lord. After God, it is your help that I look for, that you may request the tribune Gunthus and he may remove them from my house, for that I am a widow. Do this, my lord, for God's sake.'

1 Neither proper name—Leuchis or Malamos—is attested elsewhere, but the readings are certain.

2 κατέλαβεν: Cf. P. Oxy. i. 130. 16 for this sense.

3 φθάσι: The aorist subjunctive is obviously intended, though there are other possibilities, e.g. future indicative and aorist optative. The sense of the verb is clear, as long as one allows the omission of εἰς; cf. BGU ii. 522. 6; P. Lond. iv. 1359. 16; (possibly) 1343. 24. The sense 'arrive at' in a purely local connexion is found in P. Par. 18. 14; BGU iv. 1024 iv. 23; and even without εἰς, as in P. Iand. 21. 3 (see n. ad loc.).

4 προσδωκῶ: Either 'expect, await' or 'hope for, place hope on'. In the latter case the dative would be more normal, as in SB 4317. 24 and P. Oxy. x. 1299. 7. The second alternative gives better sense here.

5 6 διὰ τῶν Θεῶν: 'Um Gotteswillen' (WB); cf. P. Giss. 54. 17; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67070. 4; P. Gen. 51. 19; 7, 15.

πάντει: For ποτε; a very common interchange (see Mayser, *Grammatik* i, pp. 110 f.).

## II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT AND PETITIONS

(18-20)

### 18. RECORD OF OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

26·2 x 36·2 cm.

A.D. 323 (?)

This is a record of an inquiry made by the official registrars into the status of a slave named Patricius at the request of his owner, Firmus. The court had to satisfy itself that the slave, who had possibly been imported (l. 7), was really a person of servile status and had not been illegally enslaved. Questions were put to him in the presence of his master so as to establish his identity, origin, and status, and Clematius, *rhetor* or advocate acting on behalf of Firmus, who had introduced the case, declared himself satisfied with the answers and asked the court to instruct the archives to register the purchase.

Unfortunately the interpretation of the document is not always certain: the papyrus is of poor quality and badly damaged, now in five pieces of different size; we have most of the document, except the greater part of the left margin, but holes and rubbing have made it difficult to read in several places. Nor can the date be established with absolute certainty, though there is a probability that 6 December, A.D. 323 will not be far wrong (see 2 n.); the hand, which is a rapid, careless, sloping cursive, bearing a remarkable likeness to that of P. Ryl. iv. 653 but with some slight differences in the formation of individual letters, would suggest the first half of the fourth century, even if we had no more precise criterion.

Above the first surviving line there is a trace of a letter; another trace, almost certainly of a lambda, appears to the left of l. 15 (6 cm.). The verso is blank.

]. [

[τοῖς τρίτον (?)] ἔσομένοις ὑπ[ά]τοις πρὸ η" ἐιδῶν Δεκεμβρίων, Χοιὰκ θ".

[παρελθό]γτος Φίρμου καὶ προσενεγκόντος Πατρίκιον, Κλημάτιος ρ(ήτωρ) εἰπ(εν)

Φίρμω τῷ

[παρελθόν]τι οἰκέτης ἐστὶν Πατρίκιος· τοῦτον προσάγων δῆται περὶ τῆς τύχης  
ἐρωτᾶσθαι.

5 5. [ὑπομνημα]τογράφ[οι] Πατρικ[ίῳ εἰπ(εν)]· δοῦλος εἰ ἡ ἐλεύθερος; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)  
δοῦλος.

[ὑπομνημα]τογράφοι αὐτῷ ε[ἰπ(εν)]· τίνος; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· Φίρμου.

[ὑπομνημα]τογράφ[οι] αὐτῷ εἰπ(εν)· πόθεν σε ἐκτήσατο; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ἀπὸ Ρεσ-  
κούπου.

[ὑπομ]ηματογράφοι αὐτῷ εἰπ(εν)· παρὰ τίνος; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· παρὰ Νεικοστράτου.

[ὑπομνηματογράφοι αὐτῷ εἰπ(ον)· ἡ μ[ῆ]τηρ σου δούλη ἐστήν; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναι.  
 10 [ὑπομνηματογράφοι αὐτῷ εἰπ(ον)· τί κ[αλ]εῖται; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· Ἡσύχιν.  
 [ὑπομνηματογράφοι αὐτῷ εἰπ(ον)· ἀδελφοὺς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναι, Εὐτύχιον.  
 [ὑπομνηματογράφοι αὐτῷ εἰπ(ον)· [δοῦ]λος ἐστιν καὶ [α]ὐτός; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναι.  
 Κλημάτιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἰπ(ει)· προδήλον  
 γερ[ο]μένης καλῆς (?) αἱρέσεως τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου τὰ ἀρχεῖα συνχρηματίζειν  
 προστόξατε.  
 Ἐλπίδιος ἔναρχ[ος ὑπομνηματογράφος] (?) καὶ Ανατόλιος ἀπ[ό] ὑπομνηματο-  
 γράφων διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀπο-  
 15 σίᾳ[n] ±8 ]ν ἐνάρχου ὑπομνηματογράφου εἰπ(ον)· κινδύνῳ τοῦ προσ-  
 κεκομικότος χωρὶς προκρίμα-  
 τος τῆς ἀληθίας συνχρηματεῖν τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὀνητικοῖς γραμμα-  
 τείοις, προνοούμενον τοῦ ὀνουμένου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλίας.

4. l. δεῖται. 8. l. Νικοστράτου. 13. l. συγχρηματίζειν. 14. ελπίδιος in *ecthesis*.  
 16. l. ἀληθείας συγχρηματεῖ. 17. l. ἀσφαλείας.

... under the consuls to be appointed for the third (?) time, the 8th day before the Ides of December, Choiak 9. When Firmus had come forward and had brought Patricius before the court, Clematius the advocate said, "Patricius is house servant to Firmus who has come forward; bringing him before you, he asks for him to be interrogated about his status." The registrars said to Patricius, "Are you a slave or a free man?" He replied, "A slave." The registrars said to him, "Of whom?" He replied, "Of Firmus." The registrars said to him, "Where did he get you from?" He replied, "From Rescupum?." The registrars said to him, "From whom?" He replied, "From Nicostratus." The registrars said to him, "Is your mother a slave?" He replied, "Yes." The registrars said to him, "What is she called?" He replied, "Hesychi(o)n." The registrars said to him, "Have you brothers?" He replied, "Yes, one, Eutychius." The registrars said to him, "Is he a slave too?" He replied, "Yes." Clematius, advocate, said, "Now that it has become clear that the purchase of the slave was made *bonis condicionibus*(?), give instructions that the archives co-operate in recording the transaction." Elpidius, registrar in office, and Anatolius, ex-registrar, deputizing for . . ., registrar in office, in his absence, said, "At the risk of the person who has brought him before the court and without prejudgement of the true facts, the archives shall co-operate in recording the transaction in accordance with the bills of sale, the purchaser taking precaution for his own safeguard."

<sup>2</sup> The dating formula is similar to those of P. Thead. 34; P. Oslo iii. 138; P. Ryl. iv. 653 (Latin); P. Oxy. i. 42, 60; xii. 1430; P. Princ. Roll xii. 17-19; P. Antin. i. 39; P. Cair. Isid. 61, 78; P. Mert. ii. 92; for an explanation of the reasons for its adoption see especially P. Antin. 39. 1 n. and P. Princ. Roll, app. ii. The use of the formula in this document, therefore, limits us to the years A.D. 321-4, and the

need of a leap year in order to synchronize the Latin and Egyptian dates leaves us with A.D. 323 as the only practical possibility. *τρίτον* might be a little too large for the lacuna, but it is not impossible that it was abbreviated to *τρίτ(ον)* or, more likely, that the article was abbreviated to *το(ις)* (cf. P. Antin. 39. 1).

3 β[ήτωρ]: See L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri*, pp. 150 ff., for his functions and responsibilities.

4 τύχης: Cf. P. Oxy. ix. 1186. 5 (also 4th cent.). On the extent to which social and economic distinctions between slave and free worker may have become blurred in the Later Empire see W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, pp. 139 ff.; the most interesting illustration of this process in the papyri is provided by P. Cair. Masp. i. 67089 (dupl. iii. 67294), a document seeking to establish the free status of one Martha despite—or, rather, because of—her own denial of it in the hearing of the writer (see L. Wenger, 'Ein christliches Freiheitszeugnis', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums (Festgabe Alberti Ehrhard)*, pp. 451-78). Cf. also P. Oxy. xix. 2238. 11 for the use of the very rare word *δουλειεύθερος* to describe the son of a deacon, though it must be noted too that the editors, in company with LSJ (s.v., citing a passage from Vettius Valens), translate it as 'freeman'; P. Strassb. 40. 29 for a further instance of ambiguity in the description of status.

5 The *hypommematographi* were official registrars or recorders, to whom matters such as this would normally be referred; cf. P. Lips. i. 171. 16 and 15 n. Here two of them, sitting together, the one in office and the other an ex-registrar acting as deputy for an absentee, conduct the interrogation and give their findings at the end of the inquiry; the fact that it was necessary for a deputy to replace the absent registrar suggests that two were required to act in conjunction with each other. A glance at the references to the office in the third century reveals that it was one of the round of municipal offices which a member of the *βουλή* would be expected to hold before aspiring to a major position in local government. After the third century the references are fewer, and it is possible that the duties previously performed by the *hypommematographi* passed into other hands in the course of the fourth century; see F. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen*, especially pp. 11 and 31, n. 1 and F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 351 ff.

7 ἀπὸ Ρεσκούπον: The reading is certain but the place name is not attested elsewhere, as far as we know. It is not impossible that it is a mistake for Ρεσκούνον: Resculum is found in CIL iii, tab. cer. i, cited in RE i. A, 1, 622, and was in Dacia, the modern equivalent being Zutor near Cluj (Klausenburg) in Transylvania. The slave might then have been imported from Dacia, though it must be admitted that there are few references to foreign slaves in the papyri from the fourth to the eighth centuries; see Westermann, op. cit., pp. 134 f. and Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 133 and 149, which must be qualified by Westermann, p. 134, n. 7. Finally, the possibility of a word division Ρέσκου που must not be overlooked.

9 ή μ[ῆ]τηρ κτλ.: The court is here attempting to establish that Patricius was a slave by birth by showing that his mother was a slave and then supporting this by his admission (ll. 11-12) that his brother was also a slave. On the general principle that 'the child born of a female slave is a slave, whatever be the status of the father' and some exceptions to this principle see W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, pp. 397 ff., where the relevant citations from the classical jurists will be found. In the present case, even if there were any doubt as to the status inherited by Patricius from his mother, this would be cleared by the reference to the status of his brother.

10 Ἡσύχιν: This is the best reading but not certain. The name Hesychion is found in BGU iv. 1049. 1 and elsewhere.

13 [καλῆς (?)]: What we expect here is a reference to the status of the slave and to the fact that it has now been proved beyond any doubt; if we accept *καλῆς*, then it would have to be taken as referring to the original purchase of the slave by Firmus; cf. F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 484 ff., 492, where *καλῆ αἱρέσει* is shown to be equivalent to *bonis condicionibus* in documents recording the sale of a slave, and on the sale of slaves in general W. W. Buckland, op. cit., c. 3. This interpretation might be held to be supported by the further reference to conditions of sale in ll. 15 f., concluding, as it does, with a free rendering of *caveat emptor*. On the other hand, it would be possible to supply after γερ[ο]μένης the article *τῆς* followed by a prefix, e.g. *ἀ-*, *ἐ-*, or *πρ-*, but none of these is convincing in the present context.

συγχρηματίζειν: Cf. P. Fay. 31. 21 f. (A.D. 131).

14 διαδεχόμενος κτλ.: Cf. especially P. Ryl. ii. 84. 7 n. (A.D. 146).

## 19. PETITION

20×25·7 cm.

A.D. 392

The right-hand portion of nineteen lines of this petition—the last seventeen and dating formula—has survived. It is difficult to estimate the size of the lacuna on the left-hand side: if l. 18 is taken as representative and no abbreviation has taken place in it, the lost letters could be as many as thirty, though this would mean that l. 19 must have been inset: on the other hand, the use of the shorter formula, e.g. ὑπατίας Ἀρκαδίου, in l. 18 would be inconsistent with the αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου following. There is no sure basis for calculation, and it has been assumed that there is a lacuna of between twenty and thirty letters. But, at the same time, ll. 12–13 and possibly 16–17 could suggest a much shorter lacuna—about as long as l. 3, with ἐν στέρνοις omitted, or l. 18, with τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν omitted.

Although there is probably little missing from the head of the papyrus, the lacuna on the left leaves us in doubt as to the exact nature of the circumstances leading to the petition. This much, however, is clear: Aurelius Honoratus has apparently given a guarantee (l. 8) for the performance of certain liturgical duties by a man whose name is lost; through the interference of Theodorus, an official of the public office of accounts (l. 6), the arrangement has been upset and the liturgist has defaulted (l. 9). Honoratus is now appealing to a high official, probably the *praeses*, to grant him protection by Apollon and Theognostus, municipal officials, from the demands of the *stationarius* (ll. 13 ff.), probably a police official.

The hand is rapid but clear, though it has several disconcerting ligatures; upsilon is placed above the line, even when it is not the last letter of a word, and gaps of one or two letters have been left in places where the writing would otherwise have been obscured by folds already made in the papyrus. Inconsistency in forming letters makes it difficult to read traces with certainty. The verso is blank.

- [ ±25 ]. π[αρὰ (?) Ἀπόλλω]γος [ καὶ Θεογν]ώστου
- [.....]ωνω[...]τε χειρ.[...]
- [ ±25 ]. διδόν[αι] αὐτοῖς τὸν κλῆρον μοῦ (?) ἀκεραίων λειτουργῶν δέκα καὶ πέντε
- [ἀρουρῶν (?), ἐν στέρνοις ἔχων τὸν φόβον τοῦ δικαστηρίου, δέδωκα· καὶ τινες μετὰ τὸν κλῆρον
- [οὐχ εὑρεθέντες (?) ±10 το]ῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ προηγησαμένου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δηφήνσορος
- 5 [ ±25 (?) ἐνέχ]υρον διδόναι ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεθέντων δέδωκα καὶ οὖς μὴ εὑρον

## 19. PETITION

35

- [ ±25 σίου λογιστηρίου ] δέδωκα· ἀλλὰ Θεόδωρός τις μισθωτής τοῦ δημο-
- [ ±20 αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν κλη]ρωθέντα λειτουργὸν καὶ μισθοὺς κομισάμενος παρ'
- [ ±25 τοῦ λειτουργοῦ λει]τουργίας αὐτοῦ καὶ χεῖρα ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν
- [ἔξεδόμην ±20 προστασίαν ]ιαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βου]λόμενος ἀπαιτήσαι με μισθοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κληρω-
- 10 [ ±25 θέντος λειτουργοῦ ]ν πέπονθα καὶ νόσῳ συσχεθεὶς ἐπὶ ὅλην ὁκτάμηνον
- [ ±25 καταφεύγω ] οἶδεν καὶ πᾶσαν πλίστην πενίαν μου. διὰ τοῦτο
- [ ±15 ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν λ]αμπρότητα, φιλάνθρωπε τῶν δικαστῶν· οἴκτειραι με τὸν μέτριον
- [ ±25 Α]πόλλωνος 'τοῦ' ριπαρίου καὶ Θεογνώστου τῶν πολιτευομένων, ὅπως βοηθήσουσιν
- 15 [ ±25 ] μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ στατιωναρίου ὑπὲρ τοῦ κληρωθέντος λειτουργοῦ
- [ ±25 χαριστήσω διὰ ].ης, ὅπως ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀπολαύσω. εὐ-
- [παντὸς ±20 ] σῦν τύχῃ, κύριε.
- [ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου]ὑ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ β' καὶ 'Ρούφίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμετος καὶ μαγίστρου
- [ ±25 Φ]αῶφι θ. Αὐρήλιος 'Ονώρατος ἐπιδέδωκα.
- 2. 1. ἀκέραιον λειτουργιῶν?
- 10, 15. υπερ. 12. 1. πλείστην.
- 8. ρ of πρός, like that of προηγησαμένου in l. 4, more like λ.

1 [ . . . ]τε χειρ. [ . . . ]: Possibly [έφ] [φ]τε χειρίσ[αι] (= 'on the understanding that I nominate').

3 ἐν στέρνοις ἔχων κτλ.: Cf. M. Chr. 78. 5, also in a petition.

4 [εὑρεθέντες]: Or εὑρέθησαν? Cf. W. Gr., p. 353.

προηγησαμένου: = 'the former *praeses*'; cf. M. Chr. 78. 4; P. Lips. 63. 6; P. Lond. v. 1708. 86; &c. δηφήνσορος: For the judicial competence of the *defensor civitatis*, second only to that of the *praeses* himself, see B. R. Rees in *JJP* 6 (1952), pp. 93 f. and 7–8 (1953–4), pp. 101 ff.

11 ὁκτάμηνον: Sc. περίοδον; cf. P. Cair. Zen. iii. 327. 33, 63, 72 (3rd cent. B.C.), and note also δηκτα-

μηνιαῖς χρόνος λιτουργίας in P. Oxy. xiv. 1627. 9 f. (4th cent.).

13 φιλάνθρωπε: Often employed as an honorific title; cf. especially P. Oxy. viii. 1102. 7, where it is used of the *praeses*. It is doubtful if we should assume a mistake for the superlative here and read φιλανθρωπ(ότατ)ε, since the use of the partitive genitive would not be unusual, even if a little affected.

μέτριον: Cf. P. Mert. ii. 91. 6, 17; P. Cair. Isid. 68. 5. 6; 69. 27; 74. 3. 16, for recent examples of this

sense; and see O. Guéraud and H. C. Youtie, 'Notes sur P. Cairo-Boak 57049' in *Chron. d'Eg.* 55 (1953), p. 150, n. 1 for possible interpretations of the word in this and other contexts. Here it is 'a man of modest station and means'.

15 *ορατωναριον*: Though this official is classified as military by Preisigke, *WB*, there can be no doubt that in the Byzantine period in Egypt he became in most cases a subordinate police officer; see Maspero, *L'organisation militaire*, p. 106, n. 4 (= 'peut-être un simple agent de police'), W. Gr., pp. 413 f., M. Gr., pp. 34 f., Taubenschlag, *Law<sup>2</sup>*, p. 540, n. 21. On the office in general see *RE* iii A, 2213 and R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, p. 55, n. 17; for references in papyri S. Daris, 'Il lessico latino' in *Aegyptus* 40 (1960), p. 287; cf., for the derivation of the word, id. in *Aegyptus* 37 (1957), pp. 101 f.

17 οὐδὲ τύχη<sup>3</sup>: This reading is reasonably certain, but one would normally expect to find σοῦ τῇ τύχη or τῇ τύχῃ σοῦ rather than τῇ σοῦ τύχῃ. Perhaps here the article was followed by an adjective, then σοῦ τύχῃ, though we know of no exact parallel for this order of words.

18 f. The date is 6 October, A.D. 392.

## 20. PETITION

21.9×18.1 cm.

Fourth century

The greater part of this petition, addressed to an official whose title has disappeared (see 19 n.), is preserved. It relates to an attack on the petitioner's brother and relatives by Pemunius, Anubion, an athlete, Hermeias, and Euthymia (5 ff.), and is apparently the second petition which Aurelius Benjamin has submitted on the subject (11 ff.). He now asks for the aggressors to be brought before the court immediately, placed under restraint in custody, and subsequently punished more severely for their crime.

The papyrus is badly damaged, and there is a lacuna at the beginning of the last five lines; the right margin has been rubbed away, though not much is actually missing from it. There are several holes, both large and small, and many letters have faded. The hand is rapid, careless, and irregular, and does not help us in the places where there are difficulties in reading the traces. The verso is blank.

. . . . .

[...]

] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐ[.]

ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτὴν τύχω [.....]...[..]με[.]....

ανα...ον.ο μετ[ὰ καὶ τῷ]ν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων ὑπ[ὸ]

5 Πεμουνίου τιὸς [.....] καὶ Ἀγουβίωνος ἀθλητο[ῦ] κα[ὶ]

Ἐρμείου καὶ Εὐθυμίας. οὗτοι γάρ ἀλλήλοις συλ[λα-]

βόντες ἐπιστάντες τῷ αὐτῷ ἀδελφῷ μον μετὰ τ[ῶν]

αὐτῶν προσηκόν 'των' μον καὶ πληγαῖς αὐτοὺς συνέκοψαν,

ώς καὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰ ἐπικείμενα πλήγματα τῷ

10 αὐτῷ ἀδελφῷ μον, καὶ κινδυνεύει ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

## 20. PETITION

γενέσθαι. καὶ λιβέλλους ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ σῇ ἐπιεικίᾳ  
κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλοτε καὶ προσφώνησις ἐγένετο  
περὶ τούτου· καὶ [...] οὐ μικρὸν τὸ τετολμημένον,  
15 ἐπιδίωμι τῇ σῇ [ἐπι]εικίᾳ τούσδε τοὺς λιβέλλο[ντο],  
ἀξιῶν τὴν προειρη[ημ]ένην Εὐθυμίᾳγ μετὰ τῷ[ν]  
ἄλλων συνεργῶ[ν πάντων] προειρημένων παραντὰ  
[ἀχθῆναι καὶ] ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ αὐτοὺς εἶναι, ἐμοῦ τὴν ἔντευ-  
[ξιν κατ' αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου τῷ κυρίῳ μον τῷ  
[ἐκδίκῳ (?) εἰς] μείζονα ἐπεξέλευσιν. διεντύχει.  
20 [ ±9 ] Αὐρήλιος Βενιαμῖν Ἰωσῆτος πατρὸς ἔγραψα  
καὶ ἐπιδέδωκα.

4. ὥπ[.]. 11, 14. l. ἐπιεικείᾳ.

'... for as long as I happen (?) ... her ... with my relatives too by a certain Pemunius ... and Anubion, an athlete, and Hermeias and Euthymia. For these persons, in collaboration with each other, set upon my said brother along with my said relatives and gave them a sound thrashing, so that the marks of the blows laid upon my said brother are even visible, and he is in danger of disappearing from men. And I have presented a petition to your reasonableness on another occasion also against them, and there was an official judgement on this matter; and, ... not a small act of effrontery, I present to your reasonableness this petition, asking that the aforementioned Euthymia along with all her other accomplices aforementioned be forthwith brought before the court and placed in custody, since I have made this petition against them to my lord the *defensor* (?) for a greater punishment. Farewell. (Date.) I, Aurelius Benjamin son of Joses my father, wrote and have presented (this petition).'

<sup>3</sup> If αὐτὴν is correct, we must suppose that the verb governing it followed τύχω.

<sup>4</sup> The letters at the beginning are so uncertain that it would be rash to attempt a reconstruction, though many possibilities will suggest themselves.

<sup>5</sup> Πεμουνίου: The epsilon is quite good, and so is the pi; we must, then, take the proper name as a variant of the well-known Παμούνιος.

<sup>6</sup> Εὐθυμίας: Euthymia is the last assailant to be mentioned here, but lower down (l. 15) she is spoken of as if she were the ringleader; αὐτὴν too in l. 3 may be a reference to her.

<sup>9</sup> ώς: For ὡστε, as frequently in papyri.

<sup>10</sup> f. κινδυνεύει κτλ.: Reminiscent of Pausanias iv. 26. 5, with which LSJ compares Philostratus, *V.A* 8. 31. It is scarcely the kind of phrase which the writer would have used in conversation, though it is not impossible that he recalled it from his reading of literature.

<sup>13</sup> τὸ τετολμημένον: Cf. P. Goodsp. 15. 3 (also 4th cent.) and BGU iii. 909. 18 (again 4th cent.). If the present punctuation is right, then there must have been something like ως ἔστι in the lacuna, but the traces are too faint to permit a guess.

<sup>17</sup> ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ: Cf. P. Lips. i. 37. 25 f., where, however, the phrase could be applied to λιβέλλους. Here it certainly refers to the accused persons; they are to be 'secured' or 'placed in custody', until the trial can take place; see *WB* iv for other examples.

19 The title of the official is missing. The *defensor* must be a strong candidate in view of his legal responsibilities at this time, but the *praeses* is also possible; either would fit into the vacant space, and either might be referred to as *ἐπείκεια*. The *riparius* is yet another possibility, but *ἐξάκτορι* is too long; in any case, a petition addressed to him would be likely to have some connexion with the administration of finance and of taxes—but see P. Cair. Preis. 4 (= W. Chr. 379) and J. D. Thomas, 'The Office of *Exactor* in Egypt' in *Chron. d'Ég.* 34 (1959), pp. 124 ff. and especially pp. 129 f. For the variety of officials to whom petitions against *βίᾳ* were addressed at this period see P. Mert. ii. 92. 1 n.

20 Presumably this line began with the date.

*πατρός*: Unusual with the patronymic, but the reading is a good one.

*ἔχραψα*: This is by no means certain: the word may have been divided between the lines as *ἔγραψα*, which would mean that *ἐπέδωκα* would have to be read in the last line.

### III. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

(21-35)

#### 21. DEED OF SURETY

Hermopolite nome

24.2×14.9 cm.

A.D. 346

The guarantors, all from the village of Busiris, address this surety to Aurelius Demeas son of Demeas, *praepositus* of the seventh *pagus* of the Hermopolite nome; 54, which is from the same persons to the same addressee on the same date, is perhaps a rough draft or copy of it. The surety is for two men proposed for public offices, those of comarch and *apaeletes annonae*, and the usual undertakings are given on their behalf. There are no unusual features in content or phrasing. On suretyship for liturgical or other duties see Seidl, *Der Eid*, i, p. 82 and ii, pp. 70 ff. and the bibliography in Taubenschlag, *Law<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 411 ff., to which F. La Rosa, 'L'ΕΠΤΥΧΗΣ della ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ' in *JJP* 13 (1961), pp. 68 ff. may now be added.

The hand in which the body of the document is written shows distinct affinities with the chancery style, and the writer had a marked fondness for diaeresis. The upper third of the papyrus has been detached by means of a zigzag cut, obviously made while the document was folded and suggesting that it had been torn up and discarded by its possessor or some other person into whose hands it had come. On the verso are traces of another document, possibly one that was imperfectly washed off.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Καρχαντίου  
Ἄνγούστου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος Αὐγούστου τὸ γ'.  
Αὐ[ρ]ηλίῳ Δημέᾳ Δημέου πραι(ποσίτῳ) η'' πάγου Ἐρμοπολίτου  
παρὰ Αὔρηλίων Ατρῆτος Πάμωνος μη(τρὸς) Ἐλένης καὶ  
5 Παμούνιος Ὠρου μη(τρὸς) Τναφέρσούτος καὶ Ῥούφου Προ-  
οῦτος ὑπογράφοντος καὶ Πετοβάστιος Παθ{τ}ερμουσθ[ο]υ  
μη(τρὸς) Λουσίας καὶ Λεύτος Φέύτος μη(τρὸς) Τινούτιας καὶ Σνε-  
οῦτος Άχιλλάτος μη(τρὸς) Ρίας τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ κώ-  
μης Βουσίρεω[ς]. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμούγετες  
10 τὴν θείαν τύχ[ην τ]ῶν πάντα νικώντων  
δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐ-  
θαιρέτως ἐγγ[ε]γνήσθαι τοὺς ἐγγεγραμ-  
μένους (space) δημοσίους προβληθέντας  
[ὑπ]ὸ τῶν ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς κώμης εἰς τὰς ἐγγεγραμμένας  
15 [χ]ρείας, οὓς καὶ παραστήσομεν παραμένοντας  
καὶ ἔχυπηρετονμένους τῇ ἐγχειρισθείσῃ ἕκαστω

[δῆ]μοσίᾳ χρείᾳ. ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν λιποτακτήσῃ  
 [καὶ] μὴ παραστήσομεν, ἡμεῖς αὐτὸι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 [λόγον ὑποστησόμεθα η̄ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ ἀγίῳ  
 20 [ὅρκ]ῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες)  
 [ἀμο]λογ(ήσαμεν). (space) εἰσὶ δέ.  
 Σιλβανὸς Π[ε]τερέντος κώμαρχος,  
 Λεῦς Ἡλία ἀπαιτητὴς ἀννώνης.  
 [ὑπ]ατείας τῆς φ[ύτ]ης Ἰ[η]σος. Ἀνδρ(ήλιος) Ροῦφος ....  
 25 [οὐ]μοκα [κ]αὶ παραστήσω ὡς πρόκειται. (2nd h.) οἱ ἄλλοι  
 οἱ καὶ προκ(είμενοι) [οὐ]μεθα καὶ παραστήσομεν ὡς πρόκ(ειται). .... ἔγρ(αψα)  
 [ὑπ]έρ αὐ(τῶν) γρ(άμματα) μὴ ε[ιδ]ο(ότων).

5. τναφερσοῖτος. 6. ὑπογραφοντος; παθτ- was probably written, but the tau may have been a correction. 12. εγ'γ[ε]γνησθαι, εγ'γεγραμ-. 14. εγ'γεγραμμενα. 16. εξυπηρετουμενος. 18. υπερ. 19. ὑποστησομεθα.

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus, for the fourth time, and Constans Augustus, for the third time. To Aurelius Demeas son of Demeas, *praepositus* of the 7th *pagus* of the Hermopolite nome, from the Aurelii Hates son of Pamon, whose mother is Helen, and Pamunis son of Horus, whose mother is Tnaphersois, and Rufus son of Proous, signing below, and Petobastis son of Patermuthius, whose mother is Lusia, and Leus son of Pheus, whose mother is Tinutia, and Sneous son of Achillas, whose mother is Rhia, all from the village of Busiris. We agree, after swearing by the sacred fortune of our all-conquering masters the Augusti, that we have voluntarily and of our own choice gone security for the persons named below, having been officially proposed by the inhabitants of the village for the employments mentioned herein, whom also we shall present as remaining in, and serving, the public employment entrusted to each of them. But if one of them should abscond and we do not present him, we ourselves shall be responsible on his behalf or be liable to the sacred oath and to the risk attaching to it, and in answer to the formal question we have given our consent. They are: Silvanus son of Petereus, comarch; Leus son of Elias, *apaeetes annonae*. In the same consulship, Epeiph 26. I, Aurelius Rufus, . . ., have sworn and shall provide as set forth. (2nd h.) We, the other persons also mentioned above, have sworn and shall provide as set forth. I, . . ., have written for them, being illiterate.'

<sup>4</sup> Πάμων: The genitive of *Πάμων* (= *Πάμμων*) (see Dornseiff-Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, p. 115). *Παμούνος* in the next line is genitive of *Παμούνις*, yet another variant of the same theophoric name.

<sup>5</sup> Τναφερσοῖτος: Again, this, like *Τναφερσάῖς* (NB) and *Τνεφερσᾶῖς* (Dornseiff-Hansen), is a variant of a not uncommon name.

<sup>7</sup> Τνοντίς: The penultimate letter is better read as alpha than as omicron (*Τινούτιος*, genitive of *Τινούτις*), but neither is certain.

7 f. Σνεοῦτος: Genitive of *Σνεοῦς*, a variant of the well-known name *Σνεῦς*.

9 Βονούρεψ[ο]ις: There must have been many villages which bore this name: *WB* testifies to villages named Busiris in at least two nomes, the Lycopolite and Arsinoite, but neither of these is likely to be referred to in the present context.

13 The purpose of the space here is not clear, since it is too small to accommodate the names of the two officials designated below (ll. 22-23). Perhaps the writer originally intended to insert them, and then changed his mind, or left a space for the number of appointees, i.e. δύο.

17 λιποτακτήσῃ: An interesting formation, of which there are many examples cited in *WB*, all from the fourth century. The verb does not occur in classical authors but the noun *λιποτάξιον* does (see LSJ, s.v.). It is strange that both *WB* and Arndt-Gingrich spell the verb as *λειποτακτέω* by preference.

19 f. η̄ ἔνοχοι κτλ.: For the part played by oath in the administration of the liturgies see Seidl, *Der Eid*, i, pp. 76 ff.

24 The date is 20 July, A.D. 346.

24 ff. The readings in these last four lines are far from certain. Aurelius Rufus signs for himself, someone else writes for the other guarantors; as there is no room for their names in the traces at the end of l. 25, we must assume that these traces represent οἱ ἄλλοι or possibly οἱ ἄλ-. Similarly, there are traces of letters which are illegible at the end of ll. 24 and 26: no doubt l. 24 ended with his patronymic or ο προκ/, and 26 with the name of the writer, followed by ερρ/. The hand in which the last two lines are written is very different from the first and very cramped.

## 22. LEASE OF LAND

Hermopolis

27·8×12·1 cm.

A.D. 394

This lease is of a piece of land of 1<sup>21</sup>/<sub>64</sub> arouras, situated in the tax-district of the village Ophis in the Hermopolite nome and required for the cultivation of flax; apart from the fact that the rent is to be paid in σίππιον ἀχείρωτον it contains no unusual features. Similar leases are P. Oxy. i. 102 (A.D. 306); PSI v. 469 (A.D. 334, also Oxyrhynchus); P. Lond. iii. 979 (A.D. 364, Hermopolis); P. Cair. Masp. i. 67128 (A.D. 547, Aphrodito); P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67116 (A.D. 548, Aphrodito) is an acknowledgement of debt incurred as a result of conditions laid down in an earlier lease; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 138, 288 and Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 203 ff. All three contracting parties are from Hermopolis.

The papyrus is rather faded and rubbed on the right-hand side but otherwise complete. The description is written vertically on the verso.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου τὸ γ'  
 καὶ Ὁνωρίου τὸ β'' τῶν αἰωνίων Αὔγούστων.  
 Αὔρηλίᾳ Ὡριγενίᾳ Φι[β]ίωνος ἀπὸ Ἐρμ[ο]υπόλεως  
 τῆς λαμπροτάτης

5 παρὰ Αὔρηλίων Φιβίωνος Ἡλιοδώρου ἔξῆς ὑπογράφοντος καὶ Ἡρωνος Λύγιος μη(τρὸς) Θέκλας ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. Βουλόμεθα  
 ἔκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως μισθώσασθαι

παρὰ σου πρὸς μόνον ἐναιστὸν ἔνα καρπῶν  
 10 τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐννάτης ἵδι[κ(τίονος)] τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν  
 σοι ἐν τῷ ἔλει περὶ πρακτορίαγ ["]Οφεως ἄρουραν  
 μίαν τέταρτον ἑκκαιδέκατον τετραεξηκοστὸν  
 εἰς κατάθεσιν λινοκαλάμης φόρογ ἑκάστης  
 ἀρούρας σιππίου ἀχιρώτου κεντημαρίων  
 15 δύο, ὅπερ σιππίου ἀποδώ{σω}σομέν σοι τῷ  
 Φαῶφι μηρὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἵδικ(τίονος) καθαρὸν  
 εὐάρε[στον σ]ταθμῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνυπερ-  
 θέτως τῶν δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὴν  
 γεούχον. ἡ μίσθωσις κυρία καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)  
 20 ὥμολό(γησα). (2nd h.) Αὔρήλ(ιος) Φιβίων μεμίσθωμαι  
 ὡς πρό(κειται). (3rd h.) Αὔρ(ήλιος) "Ηρων Λύγιος ὁ προκ(είμενος) μεμί-  
 σθωμαι ὡς πρόκειται. Αὔρ(ήλιος) Παντάγαθος ἔγραψα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.  
 (4th h.) δι' ἐμοῦ Συκαλίου ἔγραφη.

Verso:

25 (1st h.) μί(σθωσις) (ἀρουρῶν) adis"ξδ ἐν τῷ ἔλει περὶ "Οφεως ἡς μισθ(ωται)  
 Φιβίων 'Ηλιοδώρου  
 καὶ "Ηρων Λύγιος ἀπὸ 'Ερμουπόλεως.

3. l. 'Ωριγενεῖ. 14. l. ἀχειρώτου. 15. ἀποδωσω σοι is what was originally written, the  
 iota then being altered into mu and -ev added. 18. -θέτως omitted at first and then added in  
 the margin.

'In the consulship of our masters Arcadius, for the third time, and Honorius, for the second, the eternal Augusti. To Aurelia Horigeneia, daughter of Phibion, from the most famous city of Hermopolis from the Aurelii Phibion son of Heliodorus, signing below, and Heron son of Lygis, whose mother is Thecla, both from the same city. We wish voluntarily and of our own choice to lease from you for one year only for the crops of the pious ninth induction the one and twenty-one/sixty-fourth arouras which belong to you in the marsh-meadow in the tax-collection district of Ophis for planting of flax at a rent for each aroura of two centenaria of tow which has not been subjected to handling (?), which tow we shall pay you in the month Phaophi of the same induction, clean and satisfactory by the public measure, without delay, the public dues being the responsibility of you, the landlady. The lease is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. I, Aurelius Phibion, have taken the lease as set out above. I, Aurelius Heron son of Lygis the aforementioned, have taken the lease as set out above. I, Aurelius Pantagathus, have written on his

behalf, being illiterate. Written by me, Sycalius.' (Verso) 'Lease of 1<sup>21</sup>/<sub>64</sub> arouras in the marsh-meadow at Ophis, of which the lessees are Phibion son of Heliodorus and Heron son of Lygis, from Hermopolis.'

6 Λύγιος: The sigma is not perfectly clear here and in l. 21, though much more likely than upsilon in both places; it is confirmed by l. 25 on the verso.

11 περὶ πρακτορία: Cf. 66, 8, also from the Hermopolite nome, where the kappa is beyond dispute; here we could read *Πρακτορία*, but there is no mention elsewhere of a Praestoria. *πρακτορία* is normally used of the office of *πράκτωρ*, and in P. Ryl. ii. 213, *passim*, it denotes the main category of taxes in the account. But in the present context, as in P. Ryl. ii. 217. 23 (ἐπὶ πρακτορίᾳ) 'Ερμοπ(ολίτον), cf. ἐπὶ πρακτορίᾳ Πάνεως in the note), it would seem to refer to an area for which certain *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν* were held responsible, the preposition having its local connotation (see *WB*, s.v. 2). The plot being leased is, then, situated on a marsh-meadow in the area which comes under the administration of the tax-collectors responsible for Ophis. Ophis is frequently mentioned in papyri, usually in connexion with the Hermopolite nome, though in P. Oxy. iii. 522 it appears in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

14 σιππίου ἀχιρώτου: Flax had an important place among the crops of Ancient Egypt, and numerous illustrations of its culture and preparation are to be seen on the walls of tombs. Pliny, *NH* xix. 1, describes the processes by which it was prepared and manufactured; from his account it is clear that 'tow' (*stūppa, σιππεῖον*) was the inferior, coarser part of the fibre. In PSI v. 469 the rent is one *centenarium* of tow per aroura; in P. Lond. iii. 979 it is 1½ *centenaria*; elsewhere it is in money. The novelty of the present passage is the use of the adjective ἀχειρώτος with 'tow': it is apparently not found elsewhere in papyri, not being cited in *WB* i or iv. Sophocles uses it in a chorus to describe φύτευμα (sc. = 'olive' here, *O.C.* 698), and Jebb, accepting this reading in preference to ἀχειρότον, mentions the view of Pollux (ii. 154) that it means the same as ἀχειρονύρητον i.e. 'not cultivated by human hands', a view which he does not, however, adopt in this passage, preferring the classical sense of 'unconquered'. Whatever the meaning of the adjective in the Sophocles chorus, Jebb's discussion of it is perhaps a useful pointer to its meaning here: it should mean 'not subjected to the manufacturing process' (= τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι), 'crude', or 'coarse'. On the subject of flax generally see J. Kalleris, *ai πρώται ὅλαι τῆς ὑφαντουργίας εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν Αἴγυπτον*, pp. 177 ff.

24 Συκαλίου: the name Sycalius is not attested elsewhere, but the reading is hardly in doubt.

## 23. INVENTORY

12·3×9·5 cm.

Fourth century

This inventory of stores, consisting mostly of vessels containing various liquids and solids for domestic use, unfortunately peters out in the ninth line. The contents suggest those of a larder or even a medicine chest, and our closest parallels are P. Bad. 54, P. Oxy. xvi. 1922-3, and, possibly, P. kl. Form. 1204. As is usual in this class of documents, some words cannot be identified with certainty, others, if correctly identified, are *addenda lexicis*.

Our difficulties are increased by the fact that the inventory has been written in thick characters, the ink having often smudged and run; there are also three largish holes in the papyrus, which has suffered through rubbing. The verso is blank.

¶ βρέβιν σκευῶν.  
 ἐλέου μ[ετ]ρ[ηταῖ], β  
 οἴνου Άσκαλώμια, δ  
 τραγημάτων Άσκαλώ[νιον], α

5	γάρου λευκοῦ λαγοίνια, μέλανο[ς] λα[γο]ίνια, δύμφαλάριοι, στρογγύλιν ἐλβουνίου [	ε β α
	στρεακ[	
	.	.
	.	.
	.	.
1. l. βρέβιον.	2. l. ἔλαιον.	5, 6. l. λαγόνια.
'Inventory of stores:—		
	Metretae of oil,	2
	Ascalon-jars of wine,	4
	Ascalon-jar of sweetmeats,	1
	Bottles of white sauce,	5
	Bottles of black (sauce),	2
	?	1
	Pot of ? ,	?
	?	?

1 βρέβιον (l. -ιον): So P. Lond. iii. 1249. 7; v. 1904. 2; other forms are βρέονιον and βρένιον, while P. Oxy. xvi. 1923, 1 has βρέ( ). For references see S. Daris, 'Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto' in *Aegyptus* 40 (1960), p. 195; the word is clearly a borrowing from Latin *brevis* (*breve*, *breviarium*); see C. Wessely, 'Die lateinischen Elemente' in *Wien. Stud.* 24 (1902), p. 126 and Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter*, s.vv. The Latin form *brevium*, employed by A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, *passim*, is incorrect, as H. I. Bell, *CR* 44 (1950), p. 48, has already observed.

2 μ[ετρ]ό[γρα]ψ[α]: A probable reading: the mu and rho are fairly certain, and the two nouns are frequently found together.

3 Ασκαλώνια: Cf. l. 4; these are welcome additions to our somewhat meagre list of references to the Ασκαλώνιον. An imported measure, it is not confined to wine but is also used as a measure for cheese; its precise capacity is unknown (see Crum-Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, Introd., p. 20). For references to it see Wilcken, *Archiv* v, p. 297 and vi, pp. 400 f.; cf. Gr., Introd., lxxi, P. kl. Form. 1204. 4, and P. Oxy. xvi. 1924. 3.

5 γάρου λευκοῦ: λευκοῦ seems a good reading; the only possible alternative would be λεπτοῦ. λεπτός is sometimes used to describe liquid, as in Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 18—λεπτὸς οἶνος (cf. LSJ, s.v.), but tau would not be as good as kappa for the fourth letter. λευκοῦ makes good sense with γάρου (= 'fish-sauce'), and balances μέλανο[ς] in the next line, where the noun is not repeated.

λαγόνια: On λάγυνος see W. Ost. i, pp. 766 ff.

7 δύμφαλάριοι: Sounds a convincing word and should be a diminutive of δύμφαλος, perhaps sharing with it one of its more homely meanings, as does δύμφαλον, and referring here to some rounded vessel for domestic use. The lambda is quite certain; otherwise we might compare δύμφακηρά (see P. Oxy. xvi. 1870, 12-13 n.).

8 στρογγύλιν: Cf. P. Oxy. i. 155. 8, where the editors translate it as a 'round pot', which is better than Preisigke, *WB*—'Flasche'.

ἐλβουνίου: The first three letters are uncertain, but PSI vii. 862. 9 has ἐλβυνίων (?) βανωτόν. ἐλβυνίον, if this be the correct form of the nominative, comes in a list of comestibles, perhaps for use on a sea voyage, in PSI 862, and so would not be inappropriate here. διαβουνή, cited by LSJ from Hesychius (= 'sweetmeat eaten at dessert'), might also be a possibility.

9 στρεακ[ : The fifth letter cannot be read with any confidence, but it does not resemble tau, and so we are not justified in reading στέατ[os].

## 24. AGREEMENT

Hermopolis (?)

14·9×26·9 cm.

Late fourth/early fifth century

This document cannot be dated with any degree of certainty on palaeographical grounds. There are five hands, the first two large and distinct with slight traces of chancery influence, the second more noticeably so. These two and the third, which is upright, legible, and rather pleasing but in faded ink, could be placed in the late fourth century. The fourth hand is a careless cursive of early Byzantine type, barely legible, and the fifth larger and more regular; both suggest a dating in the early fifth century. The left and right margins have both been torn away, but very little is missing after the first two lines. The few faint smudges on the verso were possibly not letters at all and probably not related to the recto.

The original document was an agreement in the form of a *χειρόγραφον*, broken off at the very end of the main body of the contract, and its interpretation must remain uncertain as a result. The only clues are the fact that the first three hands appear to be earlier than the last two, and the word μακαρίτον in l. 6: this would perhaps suggest that the agreement proper and its subscription, duly witnessed, were completed at an earlier date than the second subscription, again witnessed, and that the death of Flavius Colluthus, who made the original agreement, had intervened; in the settlement of his affairs the claims of Aurelia Anna—if that is her correct name—had been discussed, and, having been paid a sum of money in return for the effects of the deceased in her possession, she now conceded her rights in accordance with the agreement to the *scholasticus* Origen. What precisely these rights were, how she acquired them, and what was her relationship to the deceased—all this we cannot hope to explain without the body of the agreement.

μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς π[ρόκειται] . . .

ἰδικ(τίονος). (2nd h.) ϕ Φλ(άουιος) Κολλούθος Ἱερακίων . . .

ἀρταβῶν ἐπτακοσίας καθαρ(ὰς) σὺν ναύλ(οις) καὶ λυματίσω εἰς τὴν μεγάλην χιρογραφίαν συνφ[(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα]

ώς πρόκ(ειται). (3rd h.) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἐπανακίου γραμμ(ατεὺς) μαρτυρῶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου. (4th h.) Αὐρηλία Ἀνη[α (?)]

5 θυγάτηρ Κύρου ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μουπόλεως) πληρωθεῖσα παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ σοφωτάτου σχο(λα-

στικοῦ) Ὁριγένους τῆς μεγίστης ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ δ[οθέντος]

τῷ μεγαλοπ(επεστάτῳ) κόμ(ετι) Ζαχαρία παρὰ σοῦ ὃ[π]ερ τυμήματος τῶν πραγ- μάτων τοῦ μακαρίτον Κολλούθου Ἱερακίων ἀνα[δόωμι]

καὶ ἐκχωρῶ σοι ταῦτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπ[ογρα]φὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀνηκόντων αὐτῇ δικαιῶν

καὶ ἀγωγῶν. ϕ Ἰσακος νιδ[οις αὐτῆς]

ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπέγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ ἐπισταμένης καὶ συναινῶ ὡμο-  
λεγ(ήσας) τῇ ἐμῇ μητρὶ ἐπὶ πᾶ[σι τοῖς]  
ἐνπεριεχομένοις τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπογραφῇ ὡς πρόκ(ειται). (5th h.) Αὔρη[λ]ι[ος] Κολ-  
λο[ῦθος] γιδὸς Θεοφίλου ἀδελφὸς Ἰσακίον [συναι-]  
10 νῶ ὡμολεγ(ήσας) τῇ ἐμῇ μητρὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπεριερχόμενος τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπογραφῇ  
ὡς πρόκ(ειται).

2 ἔπειτα. 3. l. λημματίων, χειρογραφίαν, συμφ(ωνεῖ). 4. l. Φοιβάμμων. 5. ηρ of  
πληρωθεῖσα badly smudged. 7. νῦν. 8, 10. l. ὁμολογ(ήσας). 9, 10. l. ἐμπεριεχομένοις.

... with my subscription as (set forth) ... indiction.

I, Flavius Colluthus son of Hieracion ... seven hundred artabas, unadulterated, including transport charges, and shall enter them to your credit in the major report. (All) satisfactory (to me) as set forth above.

I, Aurelius Phoebammon son of Epanacius, secretary, witness the guarantee, having heard it from the person who has drawn up the document.

I, Aurelia Anna (?), daughter of Cyrus from Hermopolis, having received the amount in full from you, the most learned lawyer Origen from the largest market-place, from the money given to the most magnificent count Zacharias from you, for the price of the effects of the late Colluthus son of Hieracion, duly deliver and cede to you this subscription of his with the rights and charges attaching to it.

I, Isaac, her son, having been requested, have subscribed for her being illiterate, and have agreed and consent to my mother on all the conditions involved in her subscription as set forth above.

I, Aurelius Colluthus (?) son of Theophilus (?) and brother of Isaac, have agreed and consent to my mother on all the conditions involved in her subscription as set forth above.'

I μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἔμης: Cf. PSI i. 76. II; P. Oxy. xvi. 1882. 16; 1887. 16; P. Lond. v. 1662. 17; 1664. 5; 1686. 43; &c.; but ἐφ' ὑπογραφῆς is also found. For the four senses which ὑπογραφή may possess in papyri see *Fachw.*, pp. 175 f.; for the best collection of ὑπογραφαί see P. Mich. v, the introduction to which contains also a most useful discussion by Dr. Husselman both of the collection itself and of the problems raised and solved by it, supplementing and often superseding A. Segré's 'Note sul documento greco-egiziano del grapheion' in *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), pp. 97 ff. From this discussion it is clear that the ὑπογραφή may either be embodied in the notarial contract or be a quite independent résumé of the essentials, which was used as an ἐκδόσιμον for issue to the contracting parties. As the subscription in this latter sense was usually prepared at the same time as the complete contract, and a space left above it for the insertion of the body of the contract when required, it is not surprising that many of the surviving subscriptions lack the body of the contract altogether and indeed may have come to be considered and used as valid documents without the insertion of the body of the contract but with the addition of a docket of registration. This explanation is of some value in interpreting P. Michael. 41, an agreement which lacks its ὑπογραφή, but it has little bearing upon our papyrus, except possibly to show that the process of documentation involved in its completion might well have been spread over a considerable period of time.

3 ληματίων: Cf. P. Lond. iii. 995. 1; 996. 1; 1152. 2; v. 1755. 1; 1756. 2; 1757. 2. All are seventh-century receipts for corn or charges connected with corn.

συνφ[(ωνεῖ) κτλ.]: It is hard to decide how much is missing from the right margin; elsewhere in the document as we have it—except for the first two lines—there would seem to be about six letters missing or indicated by faint traces only. It is possible that συνφ(ωνεῖ) or -(ῶ) πάντα should be read here. Similar difficulties arise at the end of ll. 4 and 5, but they are of no great importance for the interpretation of the document as a whole.

5 τῆς μεγίστης ἀγορᾶς: A good reading despite the cursive and probably to be taken as a geographical location.

6 Zacharias had possibly held the money in trust as executor of the will.

8 f. ἐπὶ πᾶ[σι τοῖς] ἐνπεριεχομένοις: Cf. l. 10 and P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67151. 224; iii. 76299. 61; P. Lond. v. 1674. 47; 1711. 62 (all 6th cent.).

9 Κολλο[ῦθος]: It would be rash to base too much on this reading, but the name, if correct, would suggest a fairly intimate, perhaps family, relationship between Aurelia Anna (?) and the deceased; if γιδὸς Θεοφίλου is correct also, then Aurelius Colluthus cannot have been Flavius' son by Anna (?), but he could well have been named after him.

Ίσακίον: A better reading than Ἰσακόν, but the reference must be to the same man as in l. 7; the names were in any case sufficiently alike to be practically interchangeable.

## 25. CESSION OF PROPERTY

Memnonia (?)

37·6×32 cm.

Fifth century

The five surviving fragments of this document contain the latter part of the deed only—a description of the situation of the house, a declaration of ownership, a guarantee against infringement together with the penalty for non-compliance, the subscription and witnesses' signatures. It cannot be classified as a sale, because there is no mention of a purchase price, while its description as an ἀσφάλεια, not καταγραφή, suggests that it is not parallel with P. Oxy. xiv. 1704, a deed of conveyance requiring a separate contract of *πρᾶσις*. On the other hand, it is clearly not a διάλνοια in the strict sense. In view of the absence of a qualifying adjective with ἀσφάλεια and of the actual verb describing the process involved in the transaction, it is safer to take the document as a cession of property in the broadest sense without attempting to define too closely the conditions attached to it.

All four parties to the deed who are mentioned in ll. 21–22, viz. Paternuthius, Sophia, Calaophre (?) and Martha, are transferring all rights of ownership of the house, which is a part of their inheritance from their late father (l. 7), to the fifth party, Faustus, who is their brother (ll. 11–12) and also a beneficiary under their father's will (l. 3). This interpretation depends to a certain extent upon the correction of ἀδελφῶν to ἀδελφόν in l. 12 and the complementary assumption that πρός is adverbial in l. 11, neither being unreasonable when one considers the great number of errors of syntax and spelling which occur. Fortunately, the first hand, in which the main body of the document is written, is fluent and legible; the other three are unskilled, two of them large and almost illiterate in appearance and the last particularly uneven and difficult to read. The verso is blank.

. . . . .  
 [      ±40      ]φ.[...].[  
 [      ±25 (?) τὰ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν] ἡμῶν γονέων ἐπιβάλλοντα μέρη  
 [      ±30      (?) τὸ πέμπτον αὐτοῦ μέρος πε[ριελθὸν (?)]  
 [      ±35      ] Κυρικὸς Παῦ[  
 5      ±35      φιλ]ανθρόπῳ .[  
 [      ±35      ]ων Φαῦστο[  
 [τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας τῆς κατ]αγηθ[όσης εἰ]ς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ μ[α]καρίτον ἡμῶν πατρὸς  
 [      ±10      ] σὺν πᾶσι αὐτῆς χρηστηρ[ίοις δια]κειμένης ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐπὶ  
       λαύρ[ας]  
 [..... γε]τονες μὲν τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας οὐτ[οι περιοι]κ[ο]ῦσιν (?), νότου Ἰωάννου  
       'Ιωσηφίου  
 10 βορρᾶ β[έ]νη μηδημοσίᾳ ἀπηλιώτου ρύμη δημ[οσίᾳ] πάλιν λιβὸς οὐ[κ]ια 'έμοῦ' Πατερ-  
       μονθίου  
 γείτονες πάντη πάντοθεν, εἰς τὸ τούντεῦθέρ σε τὸν προγεγραμμένον καὶ πρὸς τ[ὸν]  
       ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν Αὐρήλιον Φαῦστον ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς  
       προκ(ειμένης)  
 ὅλης οἰκίας ἀπὸ ἔδαφους ἕως ἀέρως, καθὼς ἀνοτέρω εἰρήκασιν, διοικεῖν οἰκεῖν  
       οἰκονομεῖν οἰκοδομεῖν πωλεῖν παραχωρεῖν χαρίσασθαι πάντα περὶ αὐτῆς  
 15 πράττοντα κυρίως καὶ ἀνεπικολύτως καὶ μὴ δυναμένον τινὸς ἐνάγειν σοι οὐκ  
       ἡμεῖς οὐ κληρονόμοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀδελφῶν φ[ύ]κ ἀδελφιδίων οὐ συνκείμενος ἡμῶν  
       ἀπαξαπλῶς τὸν δὲ ἐγ[άγ]οντά σοι βουλόμ[εν]όν ποτε καιρῷ περὶ ταύτης ἔνεκεν  
       τῆς προφάσεως ἐφ' ὧ τὸν τολμῶντα ταῦτ[α] ποιῆσαι παρέξει λόγω προ[στίμου]  
       χρυσοῦ ὄγκιας ἐξ ἔργω δυνάμει ἀπαιτούμενα καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ προστίμου καταβολὴν  
 20 ἐπάναγκες αὐτὸν στέρξαι καὶ ἐμμεῖναι ταύτη τῇ ἀσφ(αλείᾳ), ητις κυρία οὖσα καὶ  
       βεβαία, καὶ  
       ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. + Αὐρήλιοι Πατερμούθις καὶ Σοφία  
       καὶ Καλαόφρη καὶ Μάρθα αἱ προγεγραμμέναι ἐθέμεθα ταύτη τῇ καλῇ γεγενημένῃ  
       ἀσφαλείᾳ σὺν τὸ προκ(ειμένου) προστίμου· καὶ στοιχεῖ ἡμῶν πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῆς  
       περιεχόμενα  
       ως πρόκ(ειται). δι' ἔμοῦ Βίκτωρος Άνανίου λογογράφ(ον) Μεμνονί(ων) δι( ).  
       Παῦλος ἀδελφ(ὸς) αὐτοῦ  
 25 αὐτηθεὶς ἔγραψα 'π(αρὰ)' αὐταῖς παροῦσιν γράμ(μα)τ(α) μὴ εἰδείης 'ψων' δ καὶ  
       ἐσωμ(άτισα). ϕ  
       (2nd h.) ϕ Μαθουσαλὰν Ἰωάννης πρεσβ(ύτερος) μαρτυρῶ. +

(3rd h.) ϕ Κυρικὸς Ἰωσῆφ πρεσβ(ύτερος) μαρτυρῶ. + ϕ

(4th h.) ϕ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πέτρος δ̄ κ(αὶ) Παῦλος .ερ μαρτυρῶ. +

5. l. φιλ]ανθρώπῳ. 9. ἰωαννον ἰωσηφιον. 10. The α of απηλιωτον is either a correction  
 or an insertion between the preceding alpha and the pi. 12. l. ἀδελφόν. 13. l. δέρος,  
 ἀνωτέρω. 15. l. ἀνεπικωλύτως. 16. l. ἡμῶν, κληρονόμων, συγκειμένου (the κειμ is very cur-  
 sive). 17. l. ἐνάγειν. 18. l. πάσης for τῆς, δ τολμῶν. 19. l. ἀπαιτουμένας. 20. l. ητις,  
 οστι. 22. l. ταύτην τὴν καλῶς γεγενημένην; there has been some correction after the second ε of  
 γεγενημένη. 23. l. σὺν τῷ προκ(ειμένῳ) προστίμῳ . . . ἐν ἀσφῇ περιεχόμενα. 24. l. Βίκτωρος.  
 25. l. παρούσαις, εἰδίναις. 26. ἰωαννης, l. Ιωάννου. 27. ἰωσηφ. 28. κ.

' . . . (of the whole house which has) come down to us from our late father . . . with  
 all its appurtenances, situated in the same village in the street . . . ; the following  
 neighbours of the whole house live around it, on the south (the house) of John the son  
 of Joseph, on the north a public street, on the east a public street again, on the west  
 the house of me Patermuthius, these being the boundaries in all directions; with the  
 purpose that for the future you, being the aforementioned and, besides, our brother  
 Aurelius Faustus, are to possess, own, and be the master of the aforesaid whole house  
 from basement to attic, as they have stated above, to manage and inhabit, administer  
 and build on, sell, cede, or give away, doing everything which concerns it with  
 authority and without hindrance, without anyone being able to bring a prosecution  
 against you, whether it be us or our heirs or brothers or sisters or relative of ours at  
 all; the man who wishes to bring a prosecution against you on any occasion concerning  
 it on any grounds—on the understanding that the man who desires to do this shall  
 provide on account of penalty six ounces of gold, when demanded effectively and with  
 full power, and after the payment of the penalty he must of necessity be satisfied and  
 abide by this guarantee, which is valid and guaranteed; and in answer to the formal  
 question we gave our consent and drew up the contract. We, the Aurelii Patermuthius  
 and Sophia and Calaophre (?) and Martha, the aforementioned, have executed this  
 guarantee, which holds good together with the penalty set forth; and we are agreed  
 to all the provisions embodied in it as set forth. Through me, Victor son of Ananias,  
 accountant of Memnonia . . . I, Paul, his brother, having been requested to do so,  
 wrote in their presence, being illiterate, the document which I also drew up. I,  
 Mathusalan son of John, elder, am a witness. I, Cyricus son of Joseph, elder, am a wit-  
 ness. I, Aurelius Peter also called Paul, son of . . . (?), am a witness.'

2 f. The supplements in these lines are *exempli gratia*.

9 The scribe does not seem to have been certain about this formula himself—the μέν is most  
 unusual, and so is the γείτονες κτλ. in apposition and summing up in l. 11. The restoration of the  
 lacuna must, therefore, be taken as conjectural, though it would seem that the present indicative of  
 some verb is to be expected.

11 f. πρὸς τ[ὸν] κτλ.: See the Introd.

17 τὸν δὲ ἐγ[άγ]οντα: Apparently an anticipation, and a very awkward one at that, of the ἐφ' ϕ  
 clause which follows.

22 Καλαόφρη: This is a reasonably good reading, and the name is not an impossible one; an  
 alternative possibility would be Καλοφρή. It is not possible to read Καλασίρη and assume a feminine  
 form of Καλασίρις.

24 δι( ): One may dismiss the suggestion that this is for διά and governs Παῦλος, since this would leave ἔγραψα without a subject. Again, δι( ) is an unlikely abbreviation for διάκονος or διαστολεύς, which are usually abbreviated διάκονος and διαστολεύς (but cf. 41, 6). It remains to suggest that Δι(οσπόλεως) might have been intended here, in which case Victor would be functioning as λογογράφος on both sides of the river; for this we have no parallel.

25 'π(αρά)': This is in fact a pi written above the line without a mark of abbreviation and between ἔγραψα and αὐταῖς; the writer might conceivably have been thinking of the common abbreviation of ὑπέρ, i.e. υ'', which one would expect here, or have mistakenly varied the usual formula so as to mean 'in the presence of'. He seems to have been greatly confused about gender too in this sentence: having made the four feminine, when one is masculine, he slips back into the masculine with παροῦσαν and then into the feminine once again with εἰδεῖης; it is probable that the letters written above the line were yet another attempt to correct himself in the matter of gender.

26 Μαθουσαλάν: Cf. P. Lond. iv. 1553. 11, a Coptic document, where the editor suggests Μαθουσαλδ[μ].

28 φ κ(α): The abbreviation is often found written φ'', but there is no parallel known for this form. On the other hand, it is impossible to suggest any other reading which will make sense in this context, and our scribe has already showed himself confused in his use of formulae and abbreviations.

.ερ: The first letter is illegible, but there are two possibilities which might fit the trace: we could read φέρ, perhaps for Φήρ, which is attested in papyri, or Ιερ(εμίον).

## 26. LEASE OF A HOLDING

26·2×14·1 cm.

Fifth century

There are no unusual features or difficulties in this typical Byzantine lease of a κτήμα, with the possible exception of the interpretation of the first few surviving words. Other leases of κτήματα in the Byzantine period which include palms, pasture, &c. are P. Cair. Masp. iii. 67300 and P. Lond. v. 1695, dealing with the same property; P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67170; P. Hamb. i. 18; P. Flor. i. 50, 63; &c. For lists of these, superseding those in H. Comfort, 'Prolegomena to the Study of Late Byzantine Land-Leases' in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), pp. 589 ff. and Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 80 ff., see now J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, pp. 274 ff.

The papyrus is smudged in three places, and part of the right margin of the preceding sheet has survived with traces of a scrawl down the side and, opposite l. 11 of our papyrus, probably a pi or nu; the gap below the last line makes it doubtful if anything is missing from the foot, except possibly subscriptions. The verso contains shorthand written in fainter ink and much more badly rubbed.

τ[...] τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταγραφ[ε]ΐ[σης] ±20 τὸ τῆς ἐνδόξ[ε]ΐ[σου]  
μνήμης Θεοδώρου σοῦ πατρὸς κτῆμ[α] ὁλ[όκ]ληρο[ν] πατρὶ[κὸν] ὡς ἀρουρῶν  
ὅσων ἔστιν, ἐν ὧ λάκκος ὀλόκληρος καὶ φοίνικες καὶ ἀκανθέαι καὶ συκάμινο[ι]  
καὶ οἰκία καὶ ἔτερα χρηστήρια, μ[ετά] παντὸς αὐτοῦ δικαίου διακείμενον  
5 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νήσῳ τόπου λεγομένου Πίκελ, εἰς κατασποράν, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν

## 26. LEASE OF A HOLDING

51

λόγω φόρου ἀποτάκτου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀλοκλήρου κτήματος κατ' ἔτος  
συμβροχικῷ ἀβροχικῷ, ὃ μὴ εἴη, σίτου σὺν παντοίοις ἀναλώμασι ἀρτάβας  
ἔκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα μοδίω καὶ κριθῶν ἀρτάβας δέκα τρεῖς,  
γύ(νονται) σίτ(ον) (ἀρτάβαι) ρυμ καὶ κριθ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) ιγ μέτρῳ μοδίῳ ξυστῷ, καὶ  
ὑπὲρ τιμῆς  
10 χόρτου χλωροῦ δώσω κατ' ἔτος χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο καὶ κεράτια δέκα  
φόκτ[ώ] εὗστ[αθμα] ..... βκ ιδι[ω]τ(ικῷ) ζυγ(ῷ), καὶ ἐν τῇ δόσει τοῦ φόρου  
τεσσ[ερά]κοντα καὶ τυρούς γεονυχικούς  
] τρία καὶ λόγω ἑορτικῶν ὄρνιθια  
] .s ἐν τῷ δεσ[.....]....ν  
] τόπους π.[  
] νυστουκα[  
ε]πὶ τοῦτο [

1, 9. ὑπερ.

5. πίκελ = ; ὑμ[.]

7. l. συμβρόχω?

9. ιγ.

'... on behalf of the woman registered as mortgagee (?) ... the holding of your father Theodorus of renowned memory, complete and inherited from his father, of as many arouras as it consists of, in which there are a tank complete, date-palms, acacias, mulberry trees, a house, and other appurtenances, with all its rights, situated in the same island (being part) of the site called Pcel, for sowing, and I shall give you on account of fixed rent for the same complete holding annually, whether a natural inundation occurs or whether, as we pray may not happen, it fails, one hundred and forty artabas of corn by modius-measure with all charges whatsoever and thirteen artabas of barley; total, 140 artabas of wheat and 13 artabas of barley by the level modius-measure, and for the price of the green crop I shall give you annually two solidi and eighteen carats of gold of proper weight by the private balance of ...'

<sup>1</sup> καταγραφ[ε]ΐ[σης]: Means either 'the woman registered as mortgagee' (Grenfell and Hunt ad P. Oxy. iii. 472 ii. 19, 25) or 'the woman to whom the property has been conveyed' (LSJ). With the former interpretation cf. perhaps SB v. i. 7519 (Hermopolis, A.D. 510), a lease of 7 arouras of private land which are held in mortgage by the lessor.

2 f. ὡς ἀρουρῶν ὥστε ἔστιν: Cf. P. Cair. Masp. i. 67099. 8.

3 λάκκος: Cf. P. Hamb. i. 23. 17.

φοίνικες: Cf. P. Vindob. Bos. 8; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67100; SB iv. 7369; PSI iv. 296; P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67235; i. 67104; P. Lond. v. 1695; P. Hamb. i. 68; P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67170; P. Hamb. i. 23; P. Lond. v. 1769 (in chronological order from the early fourth to the late sixth century); and see the list in H. B. van Hoesen and A. C. Johnson, 'Five Leases in the Princeton Collection' in *JEA* 14 (1928), p. 118.

συκάμινο[ι]: Cf. P. Grenf. ii. 16 (137 B.C.); most editors have rendered συκάμινος as 'mulberry-tree' (so WB, s.v.) but LSJ suggest that the Egyptian συκάμινος is equivalent to συκόμορος = 'sycamore-fig'; see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, p. 302.

7 συμβροχικῷ: No other instance of this word is recorded; but its resemblance in formation to ἀβροχικός might justify us in retaining it here, instead of assuming it to be an error for σύμβροχος, the

normal expression in this formula (cf., e.g., SB iii. 7167. 10). For the taxation of land, whether ἔμβροχος or ἄβροχος, see P. Cair. Isid. 3, Introd., pp. 39 f.

<sup>12</sup> τυροὺς γεουχικούς: Cf. P. Lond. v. 1694. 21; 1695. 24; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67107. 18; iii. 67300. 15; P. Hamb. i. 68. 42; &c. (all 6th cent.).

<sup>13</sup> λόγῳ κτλ.: In P. Oxy. iv. 724. 6; xvi. 1890. 12; 1950. 2; 1951. 2; 2032. 5; P. Strassb. 40. 49 ἔορτικά are presents on the occasion of a festival either from a landowner to his tenants or from an employer to his employees. Here, however, as in P. Mert. ii. 96, a letter from a landowner, they are clearly additions to the rent; S. Eitrem, 'A Few Remarks on σπονδή, θάλλος, and other extra payments' in *Symb. Osl.* 17 (1937), pp. 26 ff., connects such payments with religious tradition. In a recently published document, P. Antin. ii. 91. 1, the meaning of the word is uncertain.

## 27. LEASE OF A SHEEP

11.3 x 15.6 cm.

Fifth century

This fragment contains the greater part of a lease of a sheep for a period of ten years at a rent of one pound of wool *per annum*. The sheep would come under the category of ζῷα ἀθάρα (see 5 n.) and would be required for domestic purposes, partly for the rest of the clip, no doubt, but also for breeding. In the present case the use of the diminutive (see 5 n.) and the long term of the lease suggests that a lamb is being referred to, but of this we cannot be certain, nor is it of any importance for the interpretation of the document.

The hand in which the papyrus is written is a forward-sloping, regular, fifth-century cursive; there are few difficulties of reading but these are such as to leave us with at least two unsolved problems in ll. 5–6, the main one being the meaning of *Zωῆς* in l. 5 and its relationship to the half of the next line which survives. Fortunately our imperfect understanding of these lines does not affect the interpretation of the document as a whole. There are at least two scribal errors in ll. 8–9 but they do not confuse the general issue.

Leases of sheep are not common, especially in the Byzantine period; Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 214 give three (P. Thead. 8, 9 and P. Flor. i. 53), all of which are also mentioned by S. von Bolla, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht im Altertum*, p. 47. There is an account of the use of sheep in M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, pp. 323 ff., but this refers for the most part to Ptolemaic Egypt.

[±10] .οτ.... ἐπὶ δεκαετῇ χρό-  
[νον λογιζό]μενον ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον  
[ἡμέρας ἡτι]ς ἐστὶν Μεσορὴ τετάρτη  
[τῆς ±5] ] ὑδυκτίονος καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ  
5 [ὑπαρχόν σο]ι προβάτιον ἐν *Zωῆς* (?)·  
[καὶ εἰς τὸν {παρ' ἐμοῦ} ἀεὶ χρόνον

## 27. LEASE OF A SHEEP

53

φ[ό]ρ[ον σοι παρ]έξω κατ' ἔτος ἑρέας λίτραν  
μίαν τῷ δικαίῳ γαμπάνῳ {κατ' ἔτος}  
ἀνυπερθέτως < > ὡς παρεῖληφα. ἡ μίσθω-  
10 σις κυρίᾳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ, καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖσα) ὀμολόγ(ησα). Αὔρηλία  
Θέκλα θυγάτηρ Ἰωάν[ν]ου ἡ προκ(ειμένη) μεμι[σ]θωμα[ι]

Verso:

]. . κεν[

8. The mu of μιαν is a correction; 1. καμπάνῳ. 9. 1. ἀνυπερθέτως. 11. ιωαν[ν]ου.

... for a ten-year period counted from today's date, which is Mesore 4 of the ... indiction, inclusive, the sheep belonging to you in Zoe's (?); and for the whole of the stipulated period I shall provide you as rent with one pound of wool by fair weight each year without delay, (and after the period I shall return the sheep to you) as I have received it. The lease is valid and guaranteed, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. I, Aurelia Thecla daughter of John, the aforementioned, have leased. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The dating clause and the names of the contracting parties are missing here, and a comparison with other leases suggests that either παρὰ σοῦ or παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀδελφότητος (or some similar honorific abstract) immediately preceded the notification of the period of the lease. But παρὰ σοῦ is impossible and the traces are not clear enough to entitle us to read ἀδελφότητος or λαμπρότητος: rho or phi was certainly the first letter after the lacuna, but there does not seem to be any trace of the downward stroke of the second tau and the terminal -os would be very cramped.

<sup>4</sup> The number of the indiction was most probably the sixth, as there is barely room for more than five letters in the lacuna after τῆς, but the third is also possible, as τρίτης would take up little space.

<sup>5</sup> προβάτιον: LSJ render as 'little sheep' but acknowledge that it can also be used as equivalent to πρόβατον, i.e. without diminutive sense; so too Arndt and Gingrich, s.v. προβάτιον, though they render it, more sensibly, as 'lamb' in the passages cited by LSJ under the translation 'little sheep'.

*Zωῆς* (?): Sc. ἐποικίω? Or l. ἐν? The uncertainty is of interpretation, not reading, since the last letter is almost certainly sigma. The proper name does not fit at all in this context, and the thought must occur that there is some reference to the ἀθάρα-clause so common in leases of animals (see von Bolla, op. cit., pp. 66 ff.), but we know of no formula to express this by using ζῷα with some adjective and von Bolla, op. cit., p. 66 reminds us that the ἀθάρα-clause itself is not found in a lease of a single animal, though it is possible that ζῷον σιδήραν in P. Stud. xx. 217. 9 is meant to serve the same purpose. Again, if some formula were possible here which contained ζῷα and an adjective, we should have to approach the problem of how to fill the lacuna in the following line rather differently.

παρ' ἐμοῦ: This is taken to be misplaced, but it is just possible that we should supply instead some participle like αἰτούμενος, which is itself too large for the lacuna.

ἀεὶ: This is not a contradiction of δεκαετῇ in l. 1 but is used, as often, relative to a fixed period and indeed is almost adjectival here.

<sup>7</sup> f. ἑρέας λίτραν μιαν: Johnson and West, op. cit., p. 208 estimate the average clip per sheep in one flock mentioned (P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67141, fol. iii) at 7½ lb. of wool; ibid., fol. v verso, another flock yields from 4 to 7 lb. per sheep or lamb. The amount of rent in wool to be paid here would not be unreasonable.

<sup>12</sup> ]. . κεν[ : This would appear to have been written in the same hand as the recto and must, therefore, be assumed to refer to the same transaction; probably it is a summary or title. As neither the first nor the third letter is certain—the latter could be pi or, possibly, tau—it would be dangerous to attempt a reconstruction.

## **28. CONTRACT OF SALE**

Memnonia

16·8×12·8 cm

A.D. 50

This sale of a house is by καταγραφή and comes from Memnonia. Unfortunately much is missing, so that it is not possible to produce a satisfactory reconstruction. The text is written on the recto of a papyrus which seems to consist of two pieces stuck together on another sheet as background, probably by an enterprising dealer, but so tightly as to squeeze the letters together at the point of juncture in the middle. The hand is untidy and irregular, and both margins are lost. For a list of sales of houses in Byzantine Egypt see Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 198 ff.; of these P. Lond. iii. 1003 (A.D. 562) also probably comes from the Hermonthite nome.

[]. Βολουσιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων), Ἀθύ[ρ]  
]μ ἀπὸ κώμης Μεμνονίων τοῦ Ἐρ[μωνθίτου νομο  
ἀπ]ὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ[ομοῦ  
]. . . κ[ατα]γ[εγ]ραφηκέναι σοι .  
τὴ]γ ύπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν ἐπὶ λα[ύρας  
τῆ]ῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἡλθοῦσαν εἰς ἐμὲ [  
γείτονε]ς τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας νότου οἰκία Παρ[  
]οὐ ἀδελφ(οῦ), λιβὸς καλαμία Στεντβω.[. . ]. θη[  
τιμ]ῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημένης  
] χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο, ἦνπερ τιμὴν [  
] εἰς χειρ. .... ην ἐξ οἰκοθέν σου ἀριθμή[σεις  
]α[ + 12 ] ἐγκρατε[ῦ]ν [κ]αὶ κυριεύε[ιν

6. 1. ἐλθοῦσαν. ιο, μ of τιμήν looped over another letter (?) ω and spread out

<sup>1</sup> Βολουσιανοῦ κτλ.: The palaeography of the document rules out all the alternative possibilities to A.D. 503 for the date: in that year Volusianus was consul in the West, Dexicrates in the East, not being attested for the West. We are, therefore, left with quite a large supplement to find in l. 1, and much of the left-hand side of the document must be admitted to have been lost.

**2 Μεμνονίων**: Memnonia corresponds to Djeme (Ζέμη) in Coptic and embraces not only Medinet-Habu but all the territories between Dral Abu 'l-Neggah and the temple of Deir Cheluit (Kees, *RE* xv. 650 f.; A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, c. 1, especially pp. 22 ff.; C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Ég.* 56 (1953), p. 329). As we see here, it was itself regarded as a κώμη; cf. Bataille, op. cit., pp. 28 and 65, the latter citing *UPZ* (196, i. 7 ff.) for a similar statement and as an example of its actual designation as a village in the Ptolemaic period. Our papyrus shows that it was without doubt so designated in the Byzantine period, by which time, of course, it was in the Hermontite nome (cf. Bataille, op. cit., p. 64; Préaux, op. cit., p. 331 on O. Cair. 9681).

<sup>4</sup> Sc. δόμοιο ω πετράκεναι καὶ καταγευραφήκεναι, a formula which from the fourth century onwards signifies the combination of the older Greek and the Roman legal notions of sale and the obliteration of any distinction which might still have existed between *πράσις* and *καταγραφή*; see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 327 f. and A. B. Schwarz, 'Katagraphe-Lehre' in *Actes Oxford*, p. 449, and on the concept of *καταγραφή* in Greek law F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 145 f., 235, n. 5, &c.

<sup>6</sup> ἡλθοῦσαν: The house was inherited (cf. *WB*, s.v. *ἔρχομαι*, 3).

<sup>8</sup> καλαμία: A possible reading also is *κεράμια*; both would be very cramped, but *οἰκία* is impossible and there is not enough room for *οἰκοδομία*.

II εἰς χειρ. .... ην: This phrase promises to introduce a familiar formula, but there must be considerable doubt as to what was actually written here: there are traces of about four or five letters after χειρ- and then comes -ην, which is quite certain. One might expect to find εἰς χειρα ἐμήν, but this would not fit the traces or fill the lacuna; nor is the alpha at all sure after χειρ-, though omega might be the only other possibility. After this alpha or omega would come a missing letter and then possibly kappa or ω or ε, with a further missing letter before the -ην.

<sup>4</sup> οὐκόθεν σου: A pleonasm; see H. Ljungvik, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur spätgriechischen Syntax' in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), pp. 161 ff.

<sup>12</sup> ἐγκρατεῖν κτλ.: The usual formula is *κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεῖν κτλ.*, on which see Taubenschlag, *Law<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 230 f. and the bibliography cited in n. 1 there. *δεσπόζειν* is frequently used instead of, or in addition to, *κυριεῖν*, but *WB* gives only one example of *ἐγκρατεῖν* = 'to possess' (P. Ryl. ii. 117. 27 (A.D. 269)). *ἐγκρατής*, however, is often used in the sense which corresponds, e.g. in *SB* i. 5357. 8 (5th cent.) and P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67151. 151 (6th cent.), which suggests that the variation from *κρατεῖν* to *ἐγκρατεῖν* is quite a reasonable one; cf. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ἐγκρατεῖν*.

## 29. DEED OF DIVORCE

Hermonopolis

19·4×40·3 cm

A.D. 586

This example of a *repudium* or agreement to separate was published in *Eos* 48. 1 (*Symbolae R. Taubenschlag dedicatae*, i), pp. 175-9; it follows the form usually taken by such documents with, in some places, a slight alteration of known formulae. Its main interest lies in the fact that both parties to the separation are 'Samaritans by religion', a description new to papyri. Another document in this volume, 40, is a receipt addressed to a Samaritan, and both names mentioned in it, Manasses and Symeon, have a distinctly Hebraic flavour. As it is perfectly possible, though not certain, that 40 too comes from Hermopolis, it is conceivable that there was a small Samaritan community there, especially as the writer of this *repudium* goes out of his way to emphasize the religious affiliations of his clients (see 7 n.). For a list of deeds of divorce occurring in papyri see O. Montevercchi, 'Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano II, I contratti di matrimonio e gli atti di divorzio', in *Aegyptus* 16 (1936), p. 20, together with the additions made by Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, p. 121, n. 69. In this period P. Flor. i. 93 (= M. *Chr.* 297) (dupl. P. Lond. v. 1713); P. Oxy. i. 129 (= M. *Chr.* 296; *Sel. Pap.* i. 19); P. Cair. Masp. i. 67121; ii. 67153 (dupl. 67311), 67154, 67155; iii. 67311 are specifically referred to as *repudia*. Of these P. Cair. Masp. 67121 is from Aphroditó, 67153-5 from Antinoopolis, as well as P. Flor. 93, and P. Oxy. 129, of course, from Oxyrhynchus.

The difference between *repudium* and *divortium* is explained in *Dig.* 50. 16. 191: *inter divortium et repudium hoc interest, quod repudiari etiam futurum matrimonium potest, non recte autem sponsa divertisse dicitur, quando divortium ex eo dictum est, quod in diversas partes eunt, qui discedunt*; cf. *ibid.* 50. 16. 101. In that connexion it is worth pointing out that the examples quoted above all refer to the separation of a married

couple; P. Oxy. i. 129, originally described by Grenfell and Hunt as a 'repudiation of a betrothal', has been taken as a 'repudiation of a marriage' by later editors, e.g. Mitteis (*Chr.* 296), Hunt and Edgar (*Sel. Pap.* i. 9), and the word *συναφία* (*sic*) (ll. 7. 10), formerly translated as 'engagement', rendered as 'marriage'; Taubenschlag, *Lawz.*, pp. 121 f. accepts this interpretation, which is undoubtedly correct (see also Mitteis, *Hermes* 34 (1899), p. 105; J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, p. 128 and n. 1). The important difference between P. Oxy. 129 and the other examples cited above lies in the fact that it is a unilateral *repudium* issuing from the father of the woman concerned, in virtue, presumably, of his *patria potestas*; cf. P. Oxy. ii. 237 VII 34–35.

This papyrus is in two fragments with a *collema* about one third across its width, from which point the colour darkens. The ink has faded, and the left margin has disappeared for the first eight lines; only the conclusion of the address or description has survived on the verso, as it was written down the right margin. The two fragments join after l. 8.

[<sup>+</sup>*Βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατίας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ(αούίου) Μαυρικίου*  
[*Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ]ούστου Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους τετάρτου Μεσορή δευτέρᾳ.*

(space of one line)

[*τάσδε τὰς ἀντιστητικάς τῆς διαλύσεως ἦτοι ρέπουδίου ὄμολογίας*  
[*τίθενται καὶ ποιοῦνται πρὸς ἄλλήλους πρὸς τὰ παρ’ ἐκατέρω μέρει εἶναι αὐθεντι-*

5 [*κὴν μοναχὸν πρὸς ἀστράφαλειαν, ἐκ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους Αὐρήλιος Ιούστος νῖος*

*Σαμψιχοῦ*

[*±10 ]ρων κελλαρικάριος, ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους Αὐρηλίᾳ*  
[*±10 ]φρη μητρὸς Ἐρεβέκκας, Σαμαρῖται τὴν θρησκίαν,*  
[*ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν, χαίρειν. ὄμολογοῦσιν ἄλλήλοις τὰ ἔξῆς·*  
[*ἐπείπερ πρώην συνήθημεν ἄλλήλους πρὸς ἔνομον γάμον καὶ βίου κοινωνίαν·*  
10 [*καὶ τέκνων σπορᾶς χάριν κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσιν,*  
[*καὶ σήμερον, οὐκ εἴσμεν πόθεν, ἐκ σκαιοῦ τινος πονηροῦ ἐβουλήθησαν*  
[*ἄλλήλων ἀπέχεσθαι, κατὰ τοῦτο ὄμολογοῦντες μηδένα λόγον ἔχειν*  
[*μήτε ἔξειν τοῦ λοιποῦ πρὸς ἄλλήλους περὶ ὅποιουδήποτε πράγματος*  
[*μικροῦ ἢ μεγάλου ἀνήκοντος τῷ μεταξὺ συμβολίῳ κεσίῳ, μὴ περὶ προικὸς*  
15 [*μὴ περὶ ἕδ’ ὀν μὴ περὶ ἀναλωμάτων γάμῳ[ν] μὴ περὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ*  
[*ἔνοχῆς καὶ δικαιολογίας μέμψεως, ἀλλ’ ἔξειναι τῷ ἐκατέρω μέρει εἰ ἐτέρω*  
[*γάμῳ προσομιλεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἥδη ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καθὼς*  
[*γέγραπται· ἔδοξεν δὲ Εὐδοκίαν τὴν ἡμῶν θυγατέρα*  
[*ἡμῶν σ...[.....]τα τὸν χ. [.....]κασ[*

Verso:

20 (2nd h.) . . . *Ιούστου νῖον Σαμψιχοῦ κελλαρικάριον*

4. l. τό. 5. *ιούστος νῖος.* 6. l. *κελλαρικάριος*—η looks like a correction. 7. l. *θρησκείαν.* 10. π of επι a correction. 11. l. *τομεν;* ε of εβουληθηση probably a correction of eta. 12. λόγον a better reading than λογων, but the second omicron was originally omega.

'In the reign and consulship of our most godlike master Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, the eternal Augustus Imperator, the fourth year, on the second of Mesore.

These mutual agreements of separation or divorce are mutually executed and made to the end that an authentic single copy should be lodged with each party for the sake of security, on the one side by Aurelius Justus son of Sampsichus . . ., cellarman, and on the other side by Aurelia . . ., her mother being Rebecca, Samaritans by religion, both from Hermopolis. Greetings. They agree mutually as follows: Whereas we were of late joined together in lawful marriage and community of life and for the procreation of children according to the usage of men, with good hopes; and today, we know not whence, through some malign spirit, they decided to part from each other, herewith agreeing that they have, and will have, no claim henceforward against each other concerning any matter whatsoever, small or great, regarding their mutual cohabitation, not about dowry nor about bridal gifts nor about marriage expenses nor about legal claim and liability and proceedings at law for complaint, but that it shall be lawful for either party to contract another marriage in the future forthwith, namely from today, as is written; and it was agreed that Eudocia, our daughter, . . .'

Verso (2nd h.): ' . . . of Justus son of Sampsichus, cellarman'.

1-2 The date is 26 July, A.D. 586.

3 [*ἀντιστητικάς τῆς διαλύσεως*: 'Gegenurkundlich' (so Kiessling, *WB* iv, s.v., Wenger *ad P. Mon.* i. 7. 6 and in *Z. Sav.-St.* 62 (1942), pp. 359 ff.; see also Preisigke, *Fachw.*, s.v. and cf. P. Flor. i. 93 (dupl. P. Lond. v. 1713).

4 *πρὸς τὰ κτλ.*: A common formula in bilateral agreements of this kind, indeed of any kind, but not actually found in any other *repudium* of this period.

5 [*μοναχόν*]: Supplied on analogy with P. Lond. iii. 1313, p. 256, an agreement for division of land also from Hermopolis and bearing striking similarities to this document (see below, 8 n.). The meaning is that two *isa* were produced, each having the value of an original document.

6 *κελλαρικάριος*: Probably a cellarer in private employment, though Rouillard, *Administration Civile*, p. 64, n. 7, treats it as equivalent to *κελλαρίτης* and so as an official term—both illustrations quoted are from the Arab period. Preisigke, *WB*, also classes *κελλαρικάριος*, *κελλάριος*, *κελλαρίτης* all as officials, but a parallelism between official and private nomenclature cannot be excluded.

7 *Σαμαρῖται*: For their history see J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), especially cc. v–viii, as well as the bibliography cited in *RE* i. 2. 2105. Doubtless they took part in the Diaspora with the Jews and, like them, established synagogues wherever they settled (cf. Beer in *RE*, loc. cit. and Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes* iii\*, p. 66). The revolt of the Samaritans in A.D. 529, which resulted in the destruction of several synagogues, had been occasioned by their persecution and stigmatization in the Codes of Justinian, which placed them, along with Jews, in the same category as heretics and loaded them with every kind of legal disability. Imperial edicts had often previously been directed towards their discomfiture, but it was Justinian's Edict of A.D. 527 (*De Haereticis et Manicheis et Samaritis*) which confirmed and emphasized their disabilities, and fresh legislation after the revolt in A.D. 529 was aimed at the complete outlawing of their sect; even the Jews might now hope for better treatment. Later on, but still in the sixth century, the position of the Samaritans in the

Diaspora improved, and it is of great interest to note that, just as it was in Egypt that the first stimulus to a Samaritan literature appeared, so too it was Egypt which, with Damascus, was the real intellectual centre of the sect during the Arab period. Occasional references to Samaritans may, of course, be found in V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Paprorum Judaicarum*; see, e.g., p. 5, n. 12 in the Introd. to vol. i, where it is suggested that the village named Samaria in the Fayyum may have been founded by them.

**θρησκεία**: The underlying idea of **θρησκεία** is 'reverence for, worship of, God or the gods', but it is used in the singular to express 'ritual, cult', in the plural 'ritual acts' (see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary* and Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v.); here the reference is clearly to the *cult* of the Samaritans. Cf. P. Antin. i. 42. 10—'Ιονδάιων τῆν θρησκείαν.

**χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦσσιν**: This is the result of a misunderstanding of the protocol for agreements. In the subjective **ὅμολογία** or **χειρόγραφον** the opening salutations end with **χαίρειν**, and the agreement proper begins with **ὁμολογοῦσσιν**. Our notary slavishly repeats the two words together without pausing to reflect that his preamble has been cast in quite another mould, that of the objective **ὅμολογία**. Cf. again P. Lond. 1313, referred to above in 2 n., for another example of this odd confusion.

10 **κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις**: Sc. συνήθειαν.

11 **πονηροῦ**: Sc. δαίμονος, a strange but interesting omission; we might well compare the N.T. use of **ὁ πονηρός**. The phrase as a whole is conventional in divorce deeds as early as P. Grenf. ii. 76 (= M. Chr. 295) (A.D. 305–6), but it admits of many variations in detail.

12 **έβολαθησαν**: The scribe turns from the first to the third person.

17 f. **καθὼς γέγραπ[ται]**: **καθὼς** is not certain nor does the formula appear in other *repudia*.

18 f. **Εὐδοκίαν κτλ.**: The agreement appears to go on to lay down arrangements for the maintenance and custody of the daughter of the two parties; cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67154. 25 ff.; 67155. 24 ff. The last line is so indistinct that not even the version suggested in the *editio princeps* of this text (see Introd.) can be justified. A Eudocia is mentioned in a register, perhaps from the Hermopolite nome, P. Lond. v. 1761 (76th cent.), but the name is not uncommon.

### 30. CONTRACT OF HIRE

29·8 x 21·7 cm.

Sixth century

This contract is in the form of a **χειρόγραφον** and is concerned with *locatio conductio operarum*, hire of labour and services; the most up-to-date list of such agreements is in J. Modrzewski, 'Additional Provisions in Private Legal Acts' in *JJP* 7–8 (1953–4), p. 218, n. 34. The distinction between this type of contract and *paramone* agreements is drawn by W. L. Westermann, 'The Paramone as General Service Contract' in *JJP* 2 (1948), pp. 9 ff. and especially p. 24. In the present instance a purple-dyer from Alexandria hires his services to two business men named Andreas and Peter for a stay of two years at their premises, in return for which he is to receive a fixed sum of eleven *solidi* less five carats and an advance payment of nine and a half carats. The document contains many features of interest apart from the mention of Alexandria.

Other Byzantine contracts made by purple-dyers are P. Grenf. ii. 87 (= SB 4503 = *Sel. Pap.* i. 23) (A.D. 606), made by three purple-dyers of Hermopolis with a master flaxworker, and Erman and Krebs, *Aus d. Pap. d. kön. Museen*, cited in Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 124, as No. 219, and made by a purple-dyer of This near Abydos with a purple-dealer in Panopolis; cf. too PSI viii. 902, of which P. Mich. v. 355 is a duplicate.

### 30. CONTRACT OF HIRE

59

The document is written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality in four hands of the sixth century, the first upright and more or less free from ligatures with many older forms of letters surviving, the second laborious and almost illiterate, the third a characteristic sloping cursive, the fourth a stylized hand in the subscription. The left margin is missing, and with it about half of the width of the papyrus, and the foot of the papyrus is badly rubbed. What remains is in bad condition, having been torn in several places and folded in the middle so as to leave a worn patch running almost the whole of its length. The verso is blank.

τοῖς τὸ ιε μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν  
ἰνδικτίογος ιγ''  
οἰκῶν] ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
τῆς] μακαρί[α]ς μνήμης Μηνᾶ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ διὰ  
5 τῆς ὑμετέρα] θαυμασιότητι ἐπὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ ἡμῶν συναρέσ(αντας)  
τῆς π]εντεκαὶδεκάτης ὑνδικτίονος, ὥστε με μισθίου  
ποιήσε]ιν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτραπησόμενά μοι παρὰ τῶν προστηκόντω(ν)  
με]ταξὺ ἡμῶν συναρέσαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν  
μὴ ἀπο]στρεφομένου μον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνθήκης  
10 κεράτια] ἐννέα ἡμισυ διὰ χειρός, ἀτινα καὶ ἐν πρότοις  
] τοῦ αὐτοῦ διετοῦς χρόνου ἀναχωρήσαι τῆς  
] γνώσει γεν[έ]σθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν τῶν προγεγραμμ(ένων)  
εὶ δ' ἀναχωρήσω τῆσδε τῆς μισθώσεως ὑπεύθυνόν με  
] λεως καὶ παραβάσεως τὰ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν συναρέσαντα  
15 ν]εαρᾶς διατάξεως τὰ δεδ[ο]γμένα τοῖς μισθώταις  
] τηθέντα διὰ ταύτης τῆς μισθωτ[ι]κῆς  
] καὶ ὑποθήκης δικ[α]ίω καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης  
] προ [...] προσ [...] ὑμῖν ὥμ[ο]λογησα.  
(2nd h.) ] [...] νομισμάτια ἐνδεκα σεβαστοῦ π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) [πέντε]  
20 (3rd h.) ] τοῖς αἰδεσίμοις Ἀνδρέᾳ καὶ Πέ[τ]ρῳ πραγματευταῖς Αἰγυπτ(ιας)  
πορ(φύρας) (?)  
] ὥστε με μισθίου καὶ κονχιστοῦ χώραν ὑμεῖν ἀποπληροῦν  
παρὰ τῶν] προστηκόντων ὑμεῖν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν πιστευόμενα  
νομισμάτια] ἐνδεκα σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος παρὰ κεράτια πέντε  
] λόγω προτελείας χρυσίου κεράτια ἐννέα ἡμισυ.  
25 Αὐρήλ[ι]ος Μηνᾶς νιὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀβραμίου οἰκῶν ἐν  
] ὑπέγρ(αψα) ἴδιᾳ χειρεὶ καὶ μαρτυρῶ.  
(4th h.) ἔγρ(αψη) διὰ ἐμοῦ Ἀγεστιαίου Εὐσεβ(ίου) (?). ♀ (shorthand follows)

8. ὑπερ. 9. ὑμων. 13. ὑπεγθυνον. 17. ὑποθηκης. 21. I. κογχιστον. 21,  
22. I. ὑμιν. 22. I. πιστευομένων. 26. I. χειρί.

1 f. There is not room for the *βασιλείας*-clause, if the reading suggested is correct, and we should normally expect l. 2 to end with the number of the induction or the date of the month. The reading suggested would seem to be in agreement with the mention of the fifteenth induction as the terminal date in l. 6, but it cannot be accepted as certain. Again, the first line, if correct, might point to A.D. 556 as a possible date (see Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari*, p. 101).

5 ff. It would be hazardous to supply the words missing at the beginning of these lines in view of the size of the lacunae. But basing our suggestions on known formulae and on ll. 21 ff., we could tentatively put forward something like

- 5 [ταῦτης τῆς μισθώσεως μεμοθωκέναι ἐμαντὸν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ]
- 6 [ἐνιαυτούς λογιζομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔως . . . τῆς π.]
- 7 [καὶ κογχιστοῦ χώραν ὑμῖν ἀποτηρώσειν καὶ ποιήσει]
- 8 [ὑμῖν ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀντὶ μισθοῦ τοῦ με].

7 ἐπιτραπησόμενα: Cf. BGU iv. 1021. 16 f. ἐπιταπτόμενα and ἐπιτασσόμενα do not fit.

12 Perhaps ἐν καταγγώσει. The reading οὐκ ἔστιν is reasonably sure.

15 Sc. τῆς θελας καὶ νεαρᾶς διατάξεως; one of Justinian's *Novellae*. A *Novella* dealing with ἐγγυηταὶ and ἀντιφωνηταὶ is referred to in P. Oxy. i. 136. 38 (A.D. 583), where a proviso about it is inserted, possibly in order to defeat its purposes (so Grenfell and Hunt); cf. P. Grenf. i. 62, 13, 14 (6th/7th cent.) and see Mitteis, Z. Sav.-St. 28, p. 393 (*Nov. Just.* 99) (= Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, p. 302). For a list of references to imperial constitutions in the papyri see R. Taubenschlag, 'The Imperial Constitutions in the Papyri' in *JJP* 6 (1952), pp. 121 ff., and for references to Justinian's codification as it affected Egypt id., 'Geschichte der Rezeption des römischen Privatrechts in Ägypten' in *Studi Bonfante* i, pp. 420 ff. and 'The Legislation of Justinian in the Light of the Papyri' in *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1), pp. 280 ff.

17 Here we might supply [ὅμολογιας . . . λόγῳ ἐνεχόρου].

18 [κα]τὰ πρόσω[πον] ὑμῶν would appear to suggest itself, but this would make the πρό, which is reasonably clear, very difficult.

20 *Αἰγυπτιας πορφύρας*: This seems to be the most likely solution and fits in well with the fact that the person hiring his services is a purple-dyer. But the traces after αιγυπτ/ are by no means certain, and we might also consider the possibility of *Αἰγυπτιων προβάτων*: cf. P. Hib. i. 32. 14, 16 (= M. Chr. 37) and see J. Kalleris, *αἱ πρῶται ἔται τῆς ἑφαντουργίας*, pp. 93 and 123, n. 2 in conjunction with B. A. van Groningen, 'Preparatives to Hadrian's visit to Egypt' in *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II, p. 255 (l. 19 of the papyrus). While πορφύρας is more likely, the alternative should be borne in mind.

### 31. DIALYSIS

Memnonia

40×36·4 cm.

Sixth century

This deed of settlement is drawn up by David son of Pisraelius and Mary in favour of Apa Cyri, Jonathan, Anna, Mariam, Grampa, and Thecla, his step-brothers and step-sisters, their mother being Rachel. By it he undertakes not to make any further claims on them in respect of his inheritance from the deceased Pisraelius. Most of the persons concerned in the settlement come from Memnonia.

The document, which is written in six hands, the first being a fluent, sixth-century cursive, is now in four fairly large fragments; the break seems to have run down the middle of the sheet, possibly where it was folded. The right margin is intact but the left is very irregular, though not much is missing. Probably only the dating clause is missing from the head of the document. The verso is blank.

### 31. DIALYSIS

61

[. . . ± 10 . . .].....[. . .].....[  
 [παρὰ Δαν]ε[τ] ἐκ πατρὸς Πισραηλίου ἐ[κ μητ]ρὸς Μαρίας, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἀπὸ Με-  
 μνονίων ἦ δὲ  
 [μήτηρ ἐν] ὅρει Σκυνεπώεως τοῦ Λυκοπολ[ίτου] νομοῦ, ἔξῆς παρέχοντος τὸν ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ ὑπο-  
 [γράφοντ]α καὶ μάρτυρας μαρτυροῦντας ταύτη τῇ ἐγγράφῳ διαλητικῇ ὄμολογίᾳ.<sup>+</sup>  
 5 [Αὐρηλίοις] Ἄπα Κύρι καὶ Ἰωναθάν (καὶ) Ἀννα καὶ Μαριάμ καὶ Γράμπα (καὶ)  
 Θέκλαι ὄμογησίοις ἀδελφοῖς  
 [τῶν προσφιλεστάτων μου ἀδελφ(ῶν) κατὰ πατέρα ἐκ μ[ητ]ρὸς Ῥαχήλ ἀπὸ κώμης  
 Μεμνονίων τοῦ  
 [Ἐρμων]θίτου νομοῦ χαίρειν. ὄμολογῷ δίχα δ[ό]λου καὶ φόβου καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης  
 καὶ ἀνάγκης  
 [πάσης ἀλ]λ’ ἐξ οὐκίας προθέσεως ἀντὶ τῆς κληρο[ν]ομίας τοῦ μακαρίτου ἡμῶν  
 πατρὸς Πισραηλίου  
 [διαλελύσθαι] πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν παντὶ εἴδει καὶ γε[νε]νει καὶ ποιότητι καὶ ποσότητι ἐν δὲ  
 χρυσῷ καὶ  
 10 [ἀργύρῳ καὶ χα]λκόμασι καὶ ἵματίοις καὶ γραμμ[ατ]ίοις καὶ ἐσθήσεσι καὶ γενήμασι  
 καὶ οίκο-  
 [πέδοις καὶ αὐλ]αῖς, καὶ μηδένα λόγον ἔχω τ[ρόπος] ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέρος μου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 [τοῦ Πισραηλίου] ὑποστάσεως καὶ κληρονομίας διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ δεδέχθαι καὶ πεπληρωθεῖαι  
 [παρὰ τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ ἀπὸ τῆς προγεγραμμένης αὐτοῦ περιουσίας ἥτοι ὑποστάσεως  
 [ἐν ἀγρ]οῖς καὶ κώμης κινητήν τε καὶ [ἀ]κινήτου καὶ αὐτοκινήτου, καὶ οὐκ ἐξέσται  
 15 [μοι καὶ]ρῷ πόποτε ἐνκαλεῖν ὑμῖν ἦ ἐνκαλέσειν περὶ τῆς προειρημένης κληρονο-  
 μίας  
 [ἢ ἐν δικα]στηρίοις ἦ ἐκτὸς δικαστηρίου, οὐκ ἐμ[ο]ῦ οὐ κληρονόμοις μου οὐ δια-  
 τόχοις οὐ δια-  
 [κατόχοι]ς οὐκ ἀδελφῶν οὐκ ἀδελφιδῶν οὐ συγγενῶν οὐκ ἀνεψιῶν οὐ κατὰ πατέρα  
 [οὐ κατὰ μη]τέρα οὐκ ἀλλος τις ἐκ προσ[ώπ]ου μου οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀγχειστείαν μοι τῷ  
 γένει  
 [ἔχοντας (?)] περὶ τῆς προγεγραμμένης [κλη]ρονομίας ὑπὲρ τὸ μέρος μου διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ  
 20 [ἐφ’ ἀπασι καὶ (?)] φιλικῶς ἀπηλλάχθην πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐσβέσθημεν πᾶν σπέρμα  
 δίκην.  
 [καὶ ὅμιλς τ]ὸν Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα ἐτοίμως ἔχω καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐμὲ στέρξαι καὶ  
 ἐμπεῖναι

[πᾶσι]γ τοῦς ἐγγεγραμμένους ταύτη τῇ διαλήγει[ει]. τῶν δὲ παραβαίνων τολμήσαντα  
 [οὐδὲ]ν μὲν ὡνήσει ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος ἀλλὰ πρωτοτύπου ἔνοχον ἔσεσθαι τῷ θείῳ  
 [ὅρκῳ καὶ] παρασχεῖν λόγω προστίμου χρυσοῦ οἰνήσας δύο, γύ(νονται) χρ(υσοῦ)  
 ὄγ(κιαί) β, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρόστιμον ἐπάναγκες

25 [ἔμμεναι πᾶσιν τοῦς ἐγγεγραμμένους] ταύτη τῇ διαλήγει[ει], ἦτις κυρρ(ίαν) οὖσαν  
 καὶ βεβαίαν ἀπανταχοῦ προφερ(ομένη) +  
 [μεθ' ὑπογραφή]ς τοῦ ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ ὑπογράφ(οντος), καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) Φ ώμολόγησα. +  
 Δαυεῖδ Πισταρηλίου ἐκ μητρ(ὸς)

[Μαρίας ὁ προ]κείμε(νος) ἐθέμην τὴν διάλησιν καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται. +  
 [±10] πος Γεωργίου σὺν<sup>+</sup> Θ(εῷ) γραμμ(a)τ(εὺς) αἰτηθεὶς ἔγραψα (ὑπέρ)  
 αὐτοῦ γράμματ(a) μὴ εἰδότος (καὶ) ἐσομάτισα. Φ

(2nd h.) [±6] θεισας Παπνουθίου ἐλάχ(ιστος) πρεσβ(ύτερος) τῆς [άγ]ι[ας]  
 ἐκκλησ[ίας] .[.]. μεγάλ(ον) μοναστηρίου τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου νομο[ῦ]

30 [...]ην εὑρεθ(εὶς) ἐν Μεμονούοις μαρτυρῶ. + (3rd h.) Κυρ[  
 (4th h.) [ ]ιασον 'Εζικεή μ[αρτυρῶ  
 (5th h.) [ ]δρεον Σε[.].[...].[  
 (6th h.) [ ]ραμαγιθέ (?)][

2. πίστραγιον.      3, 11, 19, 26. ὑπερ.      4. μαρτύρας; 1. διαλυτικῆ.      5. κ of κυρι a correction.  
 7. δ of διχα a correction.      8. 1. οἰκέιας.      9. ὑμας; τ of παντι a correction, possibly of epsilon.  
 10. 1. χαλκώμασι.      11, 19. 1. τοῦ μέρους.      13. The second γ of προγεγραμμένης is a correction, possibly of rho; ὑποστασεως.      14. 1. κώμη, κυρητῆς.      15. 1. πάτοτε ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐγκαλέσειν; ὅμν; κ of κληρονομιας a correction.      16. 1. ἐμοί, διαδόχοις.      19. ὑπ of ὑπερ written over other letters.      20. 1. φιλικῶς ἀπαλλαχθῆναι; the χ is a correction; 1. ἐσβέθαι, δίκης.  
 22. 1. διαλύσει, τὸν . . . παραβάνειν.      23. 1. ὄντησειν, πρωτοτύπως.      24. 1. παρασχήσειν, οὐγκίας.  
 25. 1. διαλύσει, κυρ(ια) οὐσα, βεβαία.      27. 1. διάλυσιν.      28. 1. ἐσωμάτισα.      31. Ιασνίεζ-κεμηρ.

' . . . from David, his father being Pisraelius, his mother, Mary, his father from Memnonia, and his mother (living) on the mountain at Scinopoeus in the Lycopolite nome, providing below the signatory on his behalf and witnesses attesting this written agreement as to settlement, to the Aurelii Apa Cyri and Jonathan and Anna and Mariam and Grampa and Thecla, brothers and sisters of the same blood as my dearest brothers on my father's side, their mother being Rachel, who come from the village of Memnonia in the Hermonthite nome, greetings. I agree that, without guile or intimidation, violence, deceit or compulsion of any sort but from personal decision, I have in return for my inheritance from our late father Pisraelius made a settlement with you in every class and kind, quality and quantity, and in gold and silver and in bronze vessels and clothes and documents and garments and produce and buildings and

courtyards, and I have no claim against you for my share from the property and estate of Pisraelius, in virtue of the fact that I have received payment in full from the same out of his aforementioned substance and property in the fields and in the village, movable, immovable and livestock; and it shall not be permissible for me on any occasion ever, whether present or future, to prosecute you concerning the aforesaid inheritance either in the lawcourts or outside the lawcourt, not for me nor my heirs, successors, or assigns, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, relatives and cousins, not on my father's side nor on my mother's side, not for anyone else acting in my name nor those in relationship with me, concerning the aforesaid inheritance regarding my share, inasmuch as I have made a friendly settlement in all respects with you and every trace of a lawsuit has been extinguished. And, swearing an oath by Almighty God, I and those after me are ready to be content and abide by all the terms included in this settlement; and (we are further agreed) that the man who has dared to transgress shall have no profit at all from his attempt but shall be in the first instance liable to the divine oath and provide on account of penalty two ounces of gold, total, 2 oz. of gold, and after the payment of the fine shall be forced to abide by all the terms included in this settlement, which is valid and guaranteed wherever it be produced with the signature of the man who signs on my behalf; and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. I, David son of Pisraelius, my mother being Mary, the aforementioned, have executed the settlement and am in agreement with every provision as set forth. I, . . . pus son of George, by the grace of God secretary, having been requested, have written for him, being illiterate, and drawn up the document. I, . . . thias son of Papnuthius, an insignificant elder of the holy church of the great (?) monastery in the Lycopolite nome, . . . . . having been invited to act in Memnonia, am a witness. (Remaining signatures of witnesses).'

<sup>1</sup> The dating formula probably took up two lines, this being the second, but the traces cannot be read.

<sup>2</sup> *Δαυ]ε[ι]τ*: Cf. l. 26, *Δαυειδ*; the name is variously spelt.

3 Σκινενεως: The name occurs in P. Cair. Masp. i. 67099. 7, where the editor is inclined to place it in the Antelope nome on the grounds that the provenance of the document is Aphroditos. Here it is in the Lycopolite nome.

<sup>6</sup> [τῶν προσφίλεστάτων μον κτλ.]: Tautologous and rather out-of-place in a document of this kind, but there can be no doubt as to the reading.

<sup>10</sup> γραμμ[ατ]ίοις: Odd in this context, but again the reading is certain.

16 ff. The genitives ἀδελφῶν, ἀδελφῶν, συγγενῶν, ἀνεψιῶν, the nominatives ἄλλος τις, and the accusative τούς should all be in the dative after ἐξέσται.

18 τις ἐκ προσ[ώπ]ου μου: Cf. BGU i. 317. 9; ii. 371. 24; P. Cair. Masp. ii. 166. 21

<sup>19</sup> [έχοντας]: Or some other word expressing 'have, claim'; no entirely parallel phrase suggests itself.

<sup>20</sup> [εφ ἀπασι]: Again put in *exempli gratia*; other possibilities are εὑτεύειν, το

<sup>2</sup> ἐσφέσθημεν: Cf. P. Mon. 1. 43; 14. 87 (both 6th cent.); in both the infinitive seems to have been passive. Here, however, the scribe first shifted to the indicative ἀπαλλάγθημεν and then carried on with

<sup>1</sup> οὐδέποτε πάντας ἀπόλυτος εἶναι τὸν λόγον, οὐδέποτε μόνον τὸν λόγον, οὐδέποτε τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φύσην, οὐδέποτε τὴν φύσην καὶ τὸν λόγον, οὐδέποτε τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φύσην καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, οὐδέποτε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν λόγον, οὐδέποτε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν φύσην, οὐδέποτε τὴν φύσην καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν.

23 ἀνήσκη: The same uncertainty as between active, middle, and passive prevails here: in P. Mon. 12. 44 ἀφελήσων is found in this formula, being active with οὐδέν as subject, and it is probably

safest to correct to ὄντος here, i.e. active. But the verb is normally middle or passive in this formula, whether ὀφελέω or ὄντημι, its rarer synonym.

29 τῆς [άγ]ι[as κτλ.]: This is very puzzling: we should naturally expect to find τ[ο]ῦσ here, but there is a definite trace of the hasta of a delta, eta, kappa or iota after the small lacuna, and this is followed by the upward flourish of a sigma or gamma or even upsilon. τ[ο]ῦσ can certainly not be read, τῆς would be just possible but unusual; [άγ]ι[ou] might also be read.

30 εὐρεθ(εις): Cf. P. Oxy. i. 131. 15 and 19, 4 n. in this volume.

31 Ἐξική: Cf. [E]ξική in SB i. 643. 6. The other names which follow are best left alone.

### 32. SALE OF LAND

68×21 cm. approximately

Sixth century

This sale is of an uncertain quantity of land. The vendor is Aurelius Apa Victor; the purchaser's name has disappeared. There are five witnesses, as in P. Michael. 40, which this papyrus greatly resembles both in the general layout of the document and in the formulae employed. The dating by induction is illegible, and the writer is unreliable in his syntax.

There are fifteen fragments of varying size, written in seven hands, the first of which is large, sloping, and sixth-century, the others less practised and, with the exception of the second, smaller. The papyrus has been used across its width on the recto, since there are collema at regular intervals down the length of the piece. It has been folded several times along and across, so that each fold finally contained about five half-lines, and, as a result, there are lines of small holes forming a regular pattern both down the length and across the width of the papyrus. The foot of the document is complete, but there is a little missing from the left hand side and more from the right; from the head the dating formula and preamble to the transaction, i.e. description of parties and property involved, have disappeared. The verso is blank, except for a few smudges.

[κατὰ δ]ύναμιν τῶν αὐτῶν προ[κ(ειμένων)] διαιρέσεων κυρ[ίων οὐσῶν καὶ βεβαίων  
καὶ]  
[πρὸς δύ]ναμιν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν [ά]νωτέραν διαστολὴν κρ[ατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν]  
[καὶ] γεωργεῖν καὶ καρπούσθα[ι] καὶ μισθοῦν καὶ μεταμισθ[οῦν]  
[καὶ] φυτεῦσαι ἐν ἀμπέλῳ καὶ φυτὰ φυτεύσειν καὶ κτίσμ[ατα κτίσαι]  
5 [καὶ π]αραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κληρονόμους ἰδίους καὶ διαδόχους [καὶ διακατόχους]  
[καὶ χ]ρήσασθαι καὶ νέμεσθαι κατὰ τὸν δωκοῦντά σοι κ[υριευτικὸν τρόπον,]  
[ἀκ]ωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποτίστως μέν γέ σε τοῦ πρ[οειρημένου]  
[τη]νθου, ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ συντελέσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν προκ(ειμένων) δέξ[α ἀρουρῶν σὺν]  
[η]μαρούρῳ (?) τοῦ 'κτήματος' σύτου ἐμβολῆς τε καὶ [χρ]υσικοῦ καὶ ναύλου καὶ  
π[αντοίων ἀννωνιακῶν]

### 32. SALE OF LAND

65

10 [πρ]ὸς τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ δημόσιου κώδικος Ἰωάννου τ[οῦ τῆς λογίας μνήμης]  
[ἀπ]ογενομένου σχολαστικοῦ καὶ κενστίωρος, ἀρξάμενο[ν ἀπὸ κανόνος]  
[τῆς] σὺν Θ(εῷ) [εὐτυχοῦς εἰσιούσης . . . ἀντικτίονος]  
[καὶ] αὐτῆς καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ διὰ παντὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ παγ[ελὲς μηδενός σοι]  
[ἀ]γνιτοποιουμένου ἡ ἀντιποιηθησόμενον τῶν μετ' ἔμε κληρονόμων ἡ συγ-  
15 [κ]ληρονόμων ἡ τῶν ἐκ γένο[u]σ μοι ἀνηκόντων ἡ ἀχιστευό[ντων, καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσό-  
μενον]  
[εἰ]ς σε τοῦ λοιποῦ περὶ τούτου ἐγὼ δ αὐτὸς ἀποτρέψ[ω ἀπὸ σοῦ ἰδίοις μον]  
[ἀνα]λώμασι καὶ [δα]πανήμασι, καὶ βεβαιώσω σοι πᾶσι βεβ[αιώσει ἀπὸ παντὸς]  
[τοῦ] ἐπιλευσαμένου ἡ ἀγνιτοποιησόμενον παν[τὶ καιρῷ ἐπάναγκες·]  
[εἰ δ]ὲ καὶ ἥττον φροτίζω [τῆς βεβαιώσεως, τριπλ[ασίας τὸ τίμημα]  
20 [ἀποδ]ώσω μετὰ καὶ τοῦ διαφέροντος καὶ ἀναλώματος πρὸ[ς τὸ βεβαίαν]  
[εἴνα]ι καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ταύτην τὴν πρᾶσιν πανταχοῦ πρ[οφερομένην.]  
[η]περ ἀπλῆν γραφεῖσαν ἐκόντες καὶ πεπεισμένος [ἐθέμην σοι ἄνευ βίας]  
[καὶ] ἀνάγκες καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ πλάνης πάσης καὶ φόβοις κ[αὶ δόλου τινὸς]  
[ἐν] δημοσίῳ ἀρχείῳ καὶ κατ[ὰ] νόμους τετελειομένον μ[εθ] ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς  
25 [καὶ τ]ῶν ἔξῆς συνηθῶν κατὰ παράκλησιν ἐμὴν μαρτυρ[ησάντων μαρτύρων]  
[καὶ ἔ]ξαιδομέν σοι [π]ρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμ[ένα καὶ εἰς τὴν  
βεβαιώσων]  
[καὶ] καθαροποίησιν ταύτη[ν] τὴν πρᾶσιν ὑποκιμ(ένων) εἰ[σ τοῦτο πάντων τῶν μον]  
[ὑπ]αρχόντων καὶ ὑπαρξόν[των πραγμάτων κινητῶν κ[αὶ ἀκινήτων καὶ]  
[αὐ]τωκινήτων γενικῶς καὶ ἴδικῶς ἐν παντὶ εἰδε(ι) καὶ γένει ἐ[νεχύρου λόγῳ]  
30 [καὶ ν]ποθήκης δικαιώ καθάπερ ἐκ τίκης. καὶ πρὸς πάν[τα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα]  
[ἐπε]ρωτιθέντες ταῦθ[ο]ούτως ἔχειν δώσειν ποιεῖν φ[υλάττειν ὀμολογήσαμεν.]  
[δῆ]λον ὅτι βέβαιον δὲ ὄντ[α] τῆς ἄλλης πράσει (?) τῆς .[  
[πα]ρὰ σοῦ, κυρίαν οὐσαν καὶ βεβαίαν πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν[  
[πά]λιν ὀμολόγησα. ♀ (2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀπα Βίκτωρ Ρω. [ . . . ἐθέμην ταύ-]  
35 [τη]ν τὴν πρᾶσιν καὶ ἀπέσχομεν τὴν προκ(ειμένην) τε[λείαν τιμὴν]  
[ν]ομοσ(μα)τίου ἡμίσους καὶ βεβαιώσω σοι π[άσῃ βεβαιώσει ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ]  
[στο]ιχεῖ μοι πάντα ἐγγεγραμμένη καὶ ὡμοσα τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον]  
[ὅρ]κον ὡς πρόκ(ειται).+ (3rd h.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀβραάμις Φρετρίου μαρτ[υρ]ο[ν τῆ]  
πράσει ἀκούσας]  
[πα]ρὰ τοῦ θεμένου, μαρτυρῶ δὲ καὶ τῇ καταβολῇ τοῦ χρυσίου [ . . . καὶ]  
40 [ὑπέ]γραψα. ♀ (4th h.) Αὐρήλιος Ἰακώβις Ἰω[ά]ννου μαρτυρῶ ταύτη τῇ π[ράσει  
ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ]

[θεμ]ένου, μαρτυρῶ δὲ καὶ τῇ καταβολῇ τοῦ χρυσίου ὑμῖν (?)  
 [...] μ..... φ (5th h.) Αὐρήλιο[ς] Κωμάσιος Ἰερ..... [μαρτυρῶ ὡς πρόκ(ειται).+]  
 (6th h.) [Αὐρήλιος Παμοῦν Θεόδωρος [μ]αρτηρῶ ὡς πρόκ(ειται). + (7th h.)  
 Αὐρήλιος [. . . μαρτυρῶ]  
 [ὡς πρ]όκ(ειται).

4. l. φυτὰ φυτεύσαι.	6. l. δοκοῦντα.	7. l. ἀνεμποδίστας.	9. l. ἡμιαρουρίω?										
10. l. δημοσίου; ἰωαννου.	11. l. κηνοῖτορος.	12. σφῆ.	14. l. ἀντιποιηθησομένου.	15. l. ἀγχιστευόντων.	16. l. αὐτός.	17. l. πάση.	18. l. ἐπελευσομένου, ἀντιποιησομένου.	19. l. φροντίζω.	21. ἴσχυραν.	22. l. ἔκών.	23. l. ἀνάγκης.	24. l. τετελεωμένην.	26. l. ἔξεδόμην.
27. l. ταύτης τῆς πράσεως, ὑποκευμένων).	29. l. αὐτοκυήτων.	30. l. δίκης.	31. l. ἐπερωτθέντες.	35. l. ἀπέσχον.	37. l. στοιχεῖ, ἐγγεγραμμένα.	42. Ἱερ.	43. l. Θεοδώρου μαρτυρῶ.						

'... in accordance with the same divisions set forth, being valid and guaranteed, and by virtue of the force which they possess, according to the above description, to possess, own, farm, reap the fruits of, let, sub-let, plant with vines, plant with garden plants, build on, transmit to your personal heirs, successors, and assigns, use and enjoy in the proprietary manner which seems good to you, without let or hindrance to you the aforementioned . . . but on condition that you duly pay on behalf of the aforesaid ten arouras with half an aroura (?) of the holding for the corn-shipment and tax in gold and freight charge and the supply levies of every kind according to the register in the official book of John of learned memory, late *scholasticus* and *censor*, beginning with the assessment of the (D.V.) coming sacred . . . indiction inclusive and thereafter continually and for all time without opposition either now or in the future from any of those who are my heirs after me or joint heirs or my relations by birth or my connexions, and I, the aforesaid, shall defend you in this matter against anyone who takes proceedings against you in the future at my own personal expense and cost, and I shall confirm your possession with every confirmation on all occasions against everyone who attacks you or brings proceedings against you, and this shall be compulsory. But if I am negligent in this guarantee, I shall duly pay you three times the price together with damages and expenses, in order that this sale may be guaranteed and valid wherever produced; which sale, written as a single copy, I of my own free will and consent executed in your favour in the public registry without any violence, compulsion, deceit, fraud, intimidation or guile, and have given you a copy, completed in accordance with the laws with my own subscription and those of the usual witnesses in proper order, bearing witness to it at my summons, and for security with respect to all that is written in it and for the confirmation of this sale and its freedom from encumbrances, staking on it all my possessions present and future, movable, immovable, and livestock, generally and severally, in every class and kind as a pledge and with the force of a mortgage as though by court decree. And to all that is written within, having been formally questioned, we have agreed so to have,

## 32. SALE OF LAND

give, do and keep these things. And it is manifest that . . . from you, being valid and guaranteed in accordance with . . . I have again agreed. I, Aurelius Apa Victor, . . . have executed this sale and have duly received the payment of half a *solidus* as set forth above, and I shall confirm your possession with every confirmation against everyone, and everything written herein meets with my agreement, and I have sworn the sacred and august oath as set forth. I, Aurelius Abraham son of Phretrius, bear witness to the sale, having listened to declarations from the person executing it, and I also bear witness to the payment of gold as deposit . . . and have signed. I, Aurelius Jacob son of John, bear witness to this sale, having heard declarations from the person executing it, and I bear witness also to the payment of gold as deposit. . . . I, Aurelius Comasius son of Jer . . . , bear witness as set forth. I, Aurelius Pamoun son of Theodosius, bear witness as set forth. I, Aurelius . . . , bear witness as set forth.'

<sup>7</sup> This line does not appear to follow the normal pattern for the statement of conditions in such documents, but there can be no doubt as to the reading. The *μέν . . . δέ* is especially odd: even if one allows that they are not felt as strict correlatives here, the function of *μέν γέ* being rather to emphasize (cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 159 f.), the two clauses are still syntactically unrelated, but this, of course, may be another error on the part of our scribe.

*οε τοῦ προειρημένου*: Again surely a mistake: either the accusative or genitive is wrong, probably the genitive. A proper name, that of the vendor, is probably needed after *προειρημένου*; [Βο]ήθου is one possible suggestion, but there are many others.

8 f. Here too the clause departs from the more conventional form: we should expect *πάντα τὰ δημόσια* (*τελέσματα*) or something similar as object of *συντελέσαι*, but the last traces cannot be *δημ*. As for *δέκα ἀρουρῶν*, it is put in more for illustration than because it is likely to be correct; if the reading of l. 36 is correct, then the amount of land being sold is much more likely to have been a half of an aroura ([ἡ]μιαρούρῳ). If there were not the problem of *δέκ*, it would be preferable to suppose that the 'dues' came in the lacuna at the end of l. 8 and that *ἐμβολῆς* and the other genitives are correct, being dependent on the object of *συντελέσαι*, as they would normally be in this class of document and this particular formula.

10 f. *τοῦ δημόσιον*: Cf. P. Cair. Masp. i. 67097. 40 f.; 67117. 13 f.; 67118. 29 f.; ii. 67140. 2; iii, p. 1; P. Michael. 40. 25 f.; 41. 23 f.; 42. A 19 f.; and see the note on 41. 23 f.

18 *ἀντιποιηθόμενον*: This is strange in view of *ἀντιποιηθησομένου* in l. 14; perhaps *ἀντιποιηθησομένου* should be read here.

31 [ἐπε]ρωτθέντες: Again it is possible that the scribe has erred, and that we should emend to *ἐπερωτηθείς*, also changing *ἀμολογήσαμεν* in the next line to singular.

32 ff. Very little sense can be made of these lines as they stand, and yet the readings are good. One would normally expect here a brief summary of the sale. *πράσει* could be taken as *πράσε(ως)* but such an abbreviation does not occur elsewhere in the document.

35 f. *τε[λέαν τιμήν]* κτλ.: See n. on 8 f. above.

41 *ὑμῖν*[]: This is scarcely satisfactory. Perhaps one might be so rash as to suggest *ὑμῖνος* for *ὑμίσους*, relating it to ll. 35 ff.

42 *Ἰερ.....*: There are many possibilities here, but the traces are very obscure, though *Ἰερεμίον* certainly does look unlikely.

## 33. SALE IN ADVANCE OF WINE

10·4×14·9 cm.

Sixth century

This document, written in a rather irregular but fluent, sloping cursive datable in the earlier part of the sixth century, belongs to a common and much discussed

category, the 'sale in advance' (Grenfell and Hunt), 'sale on delivery' (Taubenschlag), or 'contract for delivery' (Pringsheim), by which the price specified was paid in advance and the goods delivered later under threat of a penalty for non-delivery. For the most recent discussions of this type of document see P. Cair. Isid. 90, Introd., adding to the bibliography given there F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 275 ff. Our papyrus raises no new issues.

Other documents recording sales in advance of wine are P. Antin. i. 42; P. Oxy. xiv. 1720; SB i. 4504, 4505; P. Ross-Georg. v. 39; PSI x. 1122; P. Lond. iii, p. 270, 999, 1001; v. 1764; P. Stud. xx. 144; P. Strassb. 1; P. Bad. 55; P. Oslo ii. 43 and Inv. No. 1440, edited by S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen in *Eos* 48 ii (*Symbolae R. Taubenschlag dedicatae* II), pp. 77 ff. Of these P. Lond. 999 and P. Stud. 144 most resemble this document, especially the latter, though its orthography is much less reliable; both are Hermopolite, as this papyrus may well be too. The address, the δόμολογῶ-clause, and the specification of the quantity of wine involved are all missing at the beginning here. On the verso are faint traces of about six to eight letters.

. . . . .  
 a[ ± 12 ]. = ὅνπερ παρέξω σοι  
 ἔ[ν τ]ῷ Μεσο[ρή μην]ὶ τῆς σὸν Θ(εῷ) εἰσιούσης  
 πρώ[τ]ης ἵ[δικτ]η[ονος] νέω, καλλίστω καὶ  
 εὐαρέστω μέτρῳ τ[ο]ῦ πίθου· καὶ εἰ εὐρεθείη  
 5 οὖ[ν]ς ἡ ἀποίητος ἢ [δέ]ζόμε[νος] ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέχρι<sup>10</sup>  
 Τῦβι μηνός, δόμολογῶ ἀλλάξαι σοι ἐν καλῷ  
 οἶνῳ ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ χωρίς τινος ὑπερθέσεως  
 καὶ ἀντιλογίας καὶ κρίσεως καὶ τίκης.  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ δώσω σοι τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον ἐν τῇ  
 10 [αὐ]τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, 'παρέξω σοι' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ τιμῆς  
 [χρυσοῦ νομ]ίσματα δύο ἀπροφασίστως  
 [.....]ετω...[....]ης[...].[...].[...]

. . . . .

Verso:

[.] εω.. αρ<sup>ε</sup>

2. οὐν. 3. l. νέον, κάλλιστον. 4. l. εὐάρεστον. 5. l. of μεχρι corrected from ε or ο.  
 6. αι of αλλάξαι corrected from ω. 7. τ of αντι smudged; the first and last letters of αντοῦ are  
 alterations. 8. l. δίκης.

'... which I shall provide for you in the month Mesore of the (D.V.) coming first indiction new, best, and satisfactory in the measure of the jar; and if (any) of it were found by the month Tybi to be sour, unfermented, or musty, I agree to compensate you for it in good wine without any delay or dispute or lawsuit or legal process. And

### 33. SALE IN ADVANCE OF WINE

69

if I do not give you the said wine at the said time appointed, I shall give you as payment for it two solidi of gold without offering excuse. . . .

1 ὅνπερ παρέξω σοι: Cf. P. Stud. xx. 144. 4. More commonly, except in the two parallel Hermopolite documents (see Introd.), the formula is ὅν καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι. The two oblique strokes indicate that some numeral preceded them, the grammatical antecedent being οἶνος; cf. P. Stud. 144. 4.

3 νέω κτλ.: The mistake perhaps arose from the omission of ἐν οἴνῳ.

4 μέτρῳ τ[ο]ῷ πίθου: This phrase is not commented on in any of the monographs dealing with wine-production. It occurs also in P. Stud. 144, 6 f., however, and its meaning is clear enough. The πίθος is a jar, often of a size suitable for storage, and so partly buried to make it accessible; it is 'ein feststehendes Faß' (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 285 f.). If the grand-sized πίθος were used to store wine, no doubt it would be provided with a small measure, which would be attached to it to facilitate extraction of the liquid for sale; this is the μέτρον τοῦ πίθου. On the distinction between πίθος and κάδος see Schnebel, loc. cit., Reil, *Gewerbe*, p. 44, and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *dolium*.

εὐρεθείη: Sc. οἶνος; for this clause, undertaking to exchange inferior or unsatisfactory wine for wine of good quality see Pringsheim, op. cit., pp. 493 ff., who emphasizes that it is exclusive to the wine trade and disappears in the seventh century. All the documents which include it (see his list, p. 494, n. 2) belong, like this one, to the sixth century: 'legally' he writes 'the conception of exchange is incorrect.'

5 ἀποίητος: 'Unhaltbar' (WB), 'nicht haltbar' (Kiessling, WB iv), when used of wine, but this is a paraphrase only: as a result of being ἀποίητος it has become 'not fit for keeping'. The translation of it offered in other contexts—WB = 'ungeschickt', 'unbrauchbar', of cattle or money, and LSJ = 'unsuitable' of land—points to a more correct rendering in accord with etymology and grammar: it is 'not fit for use' for the same reason that it is 'not fit for keeping', viz. because it is 'unmade' or 'unfinished', i.e. 'not sufficiently fermented'; cf. F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, p. 494, n. 1.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ: This is partitive; cf. P. Stud. 144. 9, though elsewhere ἐν αὐτῷ is also found, e.g., in P. Lond. 1764. 5.

7 χωρίς των κτλ.: Cf. P. Lond. iii. 999. 14, which should, no doubt, begin [οἴνῳ χωρίς τινος], but P. Stud. 144. 11 has simply ἀνυπερθέτως.

9 f. ἐν τῇ [αὐ]τῇ προθεσμίᾳ: Cf. P. Stud. 144. 12; but P. Lond. 999 has [ὑπ]έρ δὲ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς τῆς προθεσμίας.

10 ὅνπερ τῆς αὐτοῦ τιμῆς: No doubt this is what we should supply in P. Lond. 999. 17.

12 Possibly [καὶ ἀνυπερθέτως, but there are other ways in which the sentence might continue.

13 The writing here is very faint, and it is not even certain that it is the same hand as that in which the recto is written. The last three letters and mark of abbreviation suggest γέω φαρέστω but the εω would be hard to make out. Again, it is possible that what is shown as two traces after φ is really a sigma, which would suggest the ending of the genitive singular. None of the parallel documents gives any help here.

### 34. LEASE OF LAND

Hermopolis

13.3×34.2 cm.

Seventh century

This lease exhibits no unusual features. It is a lease of arable land for three years, the lessor being Apa Apollonius and the lessee Aurelius Eusebius son of Zacharias, both from Hermopolis. For a list of land-leases of the late Byzantine period see now J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 274 ff., which brings up to date that in J. Modrzejewski, 'Additional Provisions in Private Legal Acts in Graeco-Roman Egypt' in *JJP* 7-8 (1953-4), pp. 216 f., n. 28, s.f., and for a discussion of some of the problems involved in them H. Comfort in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), pp. 589 ff. and *ibid.*, 14

(1934), pp. 80 ff., 286 ff., 429 ff., and in *Studies in Late Byzantine Land-Leases* (Haverford, 1939).

The hands are seventh century, the first having minuscule forms well developed but pi and nu identical. The papyrus has been folded horizontally and perpendicularly, and there are several folds and cracks and a badly rubbed patch towards the foot. The verso contained the title and description of the lease, but the greater part either has disappeared or is uncertain.

+ ε[ν] δόνόματι τ[η]ς ἀγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ δμοογσίου  
τρι[ά]δος πατρὸς κ[αι] υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐγράφη  
Ἄθυρ τεσσα[ρ]εσκαμ[δε]κάτη ἵνδ(ικτίονος) δεκάτης ἐν Ἐρμ(ον)π(όλει) τῆς Θηβαΐ-  
δ(ος).  
+ Άπα Απολλωγίω εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀναγνώστῃ  
5 νῦν τῷ τῆς θεοφύλου μνήμης Θεοδωρακίου πρε(σβυτέρου)  
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμ(ον)πόλεως π(αρὰ) Αὔρηλίου Εὐσέβιου νῦν Ζαχαρίου γεωργοῦ  
ἀπὸ τ(ῆ)ς αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως)· δμολογῶ ἔκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως  
μεμασθῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τριετή χρόνον λογιζόμε(νον)  
ἀπὸ καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θ(εῷ) εἰσιούσης ἐνδεκάτης ἵνδ(ικτί)ον(ος)  
10 καὶ αὐτῆς ἐφεξῆς τὰς διαφερούσας σοι ἀρούρας  
δύο σπορίμης γῆ[ς] πλέω ἔλαττον μετὰ τοῦ  
μέρους αὐτῶν τοῦ κεχωσμένου λάκκου  
καὶ τῆς εισόδου καὶ ἔξόδου καὶ παντὸς δικαίον  
διακειμένας ἐν γεωργίῳ λεγομένῳ Ψανδοουδε  
15 20 25  
ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ Ἐρμουπόλεως ὑπὸ τὴν παρ-  
φυλακὴν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τάβθεως καὶ Πκέρδων  
τοῦ Ἐρμουπολίτου, ὧν γείτονες νότου γῆδια  
ἀγίου Φοιβάμμωνος τῆς ἀγορᾶς, βορρᾶ γῆδια  
Ἄθανασίου νοταρίου, ἀπηλιώτου γῆδια τῶν  
κληρονόμων Ἰωάννου Ψανα[ς], λιβός γῆδια  
τοῦ νῦν Μψοῦδος, ἡ οἰοὶ ἄν ωσι γείτονες πάντῃ  
πάντοθεν, εἰς σπορὰν καὶ κατάθεσιν καρπῶν ὧν  
ἔαν αἰρῶμαι, φόρου τούτων κατ' ἔτος σίτου  
ἀρταβῶν πέντε καὶ κριθῶν ἀρταβῶν πέντε  
ἡμίσεως μέτρῳ δοκικῷ Ἰούστου γεωργοῦ νῦν  
Λεππίας, γί(νονται) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβαι) ε (καὶ) κρ(ι)θ(ῶν) ἀρτ(άβαι) ε (ἡμισυ)  
μ(έτρ)ο(ρω) δοκ(ικῶ) Ἰούστου γεωργ(οῦ), ὅπερ

φόρον γέον καλὸν καθαρὸν κεκοσκινευμένον  
ἀποδώσω σοι ἐν τῷ Ἐπείφ μηνὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀνυπερ-  
θέτως καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἰκόν  
30 σον ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει ἴδιοις μου ζώοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις  
καὶ ἀναλόμασι. ἡ παροῦσα μίσθωσις κυρία καὶ  
βεβαία, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. + + + + 'σημεῖον Εὐσέβιου'  
+ Αὔρηλος Εὐσέβιος νῦν Ζαχαρίου ἀπὸ Ἐρμουπόλεως  
δ προκείμε(νος) με[μίσθ]ωμαι ὡς πρόκειται. + Γρηγόριος  
35 ἐλάχ(ισ)τ(ος) ἀναγνώστ[ης νῦν] Ἀθανασίου ἀξιωθεὶς ἐγραψα  
ὑπὲρ αὐτ(οῦ) γράμματ[α] μὴ εἰ[δότ]ος. Ζαχαρίας νῦν τοῦ  
μακαρίτου Δωρ[ο]θέου ἀπὸ Ἐρμουπόλεως μαρτυρῶ  
τῇ μισθώσει αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου. + + Βίκτωρ  
νῦν τοῦ μακαρ(ί)τ(ον) Αίλιαρον ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μουπόλεως) μαρτυρῶ τῇ παρούσῃ  
40 μισθώσει αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου. + +  
(2nd h.) δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀθανασίου Βίκτωρος σὺν Θ(εῷ) συμβολαιογρ(άφον) ἐγρ(άφη).  
(shorthand)

Verso:

(3rd h.) ..... φ[δ]ρ(ον) σίτ(ον) ἀρτ(άβῶν) ε (καὶ) κρ(ι)θ(ῶν) ἀρτ(άβῶν) ε (καὶ)  
μ(έτρ)ο(ρω) δοκ(ικῶ) γεναμέ(νη) π(αρὰ) Εὐσέβιον .... +  
3. ἵνδ, ερμπ (cf. l. 6). 5. νῖω; π probably a correction. 6. νῖου (cf. ll. 21, 25). 7. τῆς  
αὐτ. πολε. 25. 1. δοχικῷ (cf. ll. 26, 43); ιονατον. 29. τ of -θετως a correction, perhaps of  
omega. 30. ιδιοις. 33. νῦν (cf. l. 39). 34. Second γ of γρηγοριος smudged, perhaps  
a correction. 38. τω of βικτωρ smudged. 41. (cf. l. 9) σὺν.

'In the name of the holy, life-giving, and consubstantial Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, written on the fourteenth of Hathyr in the tenth indiction at Hermopolis in the Thebaid. To Apa Apollonius, most discreet reader, son of Theodoracius, elder from Hermopolis of highly favoured memory, from Aurelius Eusebius son of Zacharias, farmer of the same city. I agree that I have willingly and of my own free choice leased from you for a period of three years, counted from the produce of the (D.V.) coming induction eleventh in due succession inclusive, the two arouras (more or less) of arable land belonging to you together with their share of the dammed up reservoir (?) and the right of entry and exit and every right, situated in the field called Psanaouhe in the eastern quarter of Hermopolis under the protection of the villagers of Tobthis and Pcerdon in the Hermopolite nome, its boundaries being, on the south, holdings of St. Phoebammon of the market place, on the north holdings of Athanasius, notary, on the east holdings of the heirs of John son of Psanaf, on the west holdings of the son of Mshoudos, or whosoever be its neighbours on and from every side, for sowing and

planting of whatever produce I may choose, the annual rent for them being five artabas of wheat and five and a half artabas of barley in the receiving measure of Justus the farmer, son of Leptia; total, 5 artabas wheat and 5½ artabas barley in the receiving measure of Justus the farmer; which rent I shall duly pay to you new, clean, unadulterated, and sifted in the month Epeiph each year without delay, and I shall deliver the same to your house in Hermopolis by my own private beasts and men and at my own expense. The present lease is valid and guaranteed, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. (Mark of Eusebius.) I, Aurelius Eusebius son of Zacharias from Hermopolis, the aforementioned, have taken the lease as set forth. I, Gregory, most insignificant reader, son of Athanasius, having been requested, have written on his behalf, being illiterate. I, Zacharias son of the blessed Dorotheus from Hermopolis, witness the lease, having been requested by the person executing it. I, Victor son of the blessed Aelianus from Hermopolis, witness the present lease, having been requested by the person executing it. (2nd h.) Written by me Athanasius son of Victor, by the grace of God notary. (Verso, 3rd h.) . . . in rent 5 arts. of corn and 5½ arts. of barley by the receiving measure, made by Eusebius. . . .

1 f. For the opening formula, which is characteristic of towns in the Thebaid such as Hermopolis and Apollonopolis from the beginning of the seventh century see H. Zilliacus, *Late Byzantine Land-leases from Hermopolis*, p. 15 (P. Berl. Inv. 16166, 1-3 n.); he also remarks there that this formula does not appear before Heraclius (cf. H. I. Bell, 'A dating clause under Heraclius' in *BZ* 22 (1913), pp. 395 ff.), and that the absence of an Emperor's year probably indicates that the document emanates from the Arab period.

7 έκονος καὶ αὐθαιρέτως : Waszyński, *Bodenpacht*, p. 16 observed that this formula is characteristic of Hermopolite leases; cf. Zilliacus, op. cit., p. 6 (P. Berl. Inv. No. 16048, 6 n.) and Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 41 and n. 3.

9 ἀπὸ καρπῶν κτλ.: The harvest came at the end of the indiction, but payments were not made until the following indiction and crops were numbered accordingly, i.e. by the year of payment, not of harvest; see Comfort, 'The Crops of an Indiction in Late Byzantine Land-leases' in *Aegyptus* 14 (1934), pp. 429 ff., confirming Bell's suggestion ad P. Lond. v. 1648. 10 and finally disposing of the views of Waszyński, op. cit., pp. 66 ff.; Zilliacus, op. cit., p. 7 (P. Berl. Inv. No. 16048, 7 n.) seems, however, to hold a different view: that *καρπός* in this context means 'sowing, seed sown'.

11 πλέω ἔλαττον: Replaces the earlier η δσαι ἐὰν δῶν; cf. Zilliacus on P. Berl. Inv. No. 16055, 15.

12 κεχωσμένον: Cf. P. Cair. Goodsp. 15. 9, translated by WB as 'verschüttet'. *λάκκος* is variously rendered in the passages in which it occurs as 'pond', 'cistern', 'reservoir'; here a small reservoir made by a dam is probably being shared by the properties adjacent to it, and in this way communal provision is made for ensuring the supply of water so necessary in Egyptian conditions. P. Oxy. vii. 1072; xiv. 1776 are two references to the construction of such small reservoirs.

30 ἰδίους κτλ.: This formula too Zilliacus holds to be characteristic of Hermopolite leases (op. cit., p. 8 on P. Berl. Inv. No. 16048, 18).

32 After ώμολόγησα there is a horizontal line intersected by four perpendiculars, making four crosses; above it is σημεῖον and below Εὐνσεβίου. There are many examples of this use of crosses *loco sigilli*, and the question of how they came to be regarded as a σημεῖον is discussed by Preisigke, 'Ein Slavenkauf des 6. Jahrhunderts (P. gr. Str. inv. 1404)' in *Archiv* 3 (1906), pp. 415 ff. (cf. H. Erman, *Archiv* 1 (1901), p. 76 and Wilcken, ibid., p. 558); in l. 102 of that document above and below the three crosses stand the words σημεῖον Πατερμούθεως in minuscules, in l. 104 σημεῖον alone in a kind of uncials. The number of crosses used varies; on P. gr. Str. inv. 1404. 114, where there are only two, Preisigke writes 'auf die Zahl der Kreuze kommt es hiernach nicht an.' P. Flor. i. 28. 7; P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67156. 34; 67164. 12; P. Lips. 90. 8; SB 5608; 4818—all have three crosses. But here and in P. Flor.

i. i there are four, in BGU iii. 763 five, so that, while three was the most popular number, τρεῖς τρεῖς τριμίσιος σταυρούς (P. Mon. 7. 91), there is clearly no hard and fast rule.

## 35. SALE OF HOUSE

Hermopolis

19·3×14 cm.

Seventh century

Despite its fragmentary nature this document is of very great interest, since, apart from the use of legal formulae which are comparatively rare in papyri (see, e.g. ll. 5, 9, 10, 12), it contains a Latin word written in Latin but with its genitive termination hellenized (l. 11). The sale is of a house (l. 18), and the purchasers are Aurelius Phoebammon and his wife Herais; not all of the vendors' names are preserved, but two of them were Staurophania and Euphemia.

The head and foot of the papyrus are missing, and it is impossible to say how much is missing from the right margin. The verso is blank.

. . . . .  
 ].[.....].[.].[.].[  
 ..[.....].. υ[πο]γράφοντος καὶ Φ[ο]ιβάμ[μανος  
 μετὰ συγανέσεως Ἑλλαδίου τοῦ προειρημένο[ν  
 συναι[οῦν]τ[ος] αὐτῷ Φοιβάμμωνι ὁψιναλ[  
 5 εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν .[  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμούπολιτῶν. +Αὐρηλίοις Φοιβ[άμμων] . . . καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ]  
 'Ηραΐδι θυγατρὶ Πάλου τοῦ μακαρίτου Αὐρ[ήλαι]  
 καὶ Σταυροφανία καὶ Εὐφημία μετὰ συγανέσε[ως  
 ἀποτ[α]πτόμεναι καὶ ἀποταξάμεναι πάσῃ βοη[θείᾳ νόμων  
 10 [συγ]γράφω καὶ δικαί[ω] λογι[σμ]ῷ κ[α]τὰ νεαρὰν δ[ιάταξιν  
 in tercessionos paraγραφή· ταῦτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, . . τ[  
 τῆς παρούσης ἐγγράφου πράσεως η μέρους η δικαί[ου  
 ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ καὶ ἀμεταγορή[ω  
 καὶ ἐπομήμεναι πρ[ός] τῆς ἄγιας καὶ ὁδῷ[ν] τριάδος πεπράκαμεν Φοιβάμ-  
 μων καὶ τῇ]  
 15 συμβίῳ 'Ηραΐδι καὶ καταγεγραφή[καμεν  
 καὶ πάσῃ ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ αὐτηνίᾳ κατοχή κ[αὶ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τῷ παντελὲς τὴν διαφ[έ]ρο[υσαν ἡμῖν  
 οἴκοδομ[οι]ζαν δόλοκληρον σεσαθρωμένην [.]. . [  
 [ ±15 ]φ[.].[  
 . . . . .

16. κατοχή appears to have been corrected from κατοχοι.

3 μετὰ συγαινέσεως: Cf. I. 8 and P. Flor. iii. 294. 34; P. Oxy. i. 126. 6. 32; P. Lond. v. 1708. 133, 139; 1717. 2; &c.

4 ὁψιαλ[]: The psi is not certain, and νμ could be read, thus suggesting δ ψινν αλ[. Supposing that psi is correct, the letter before nu is definitely not omicron or omega, which rules out possible compounds of δψον; a proper name would in that case be preferable.

8 Σταυροφανία: This involves a ligature of στ, but the first loop could be a flourish, leaving us with Ταυροφανία.

9 ἀποτ[α]πτόμεναι κτλ.: Cf. F. Preisigke, 'Ein Slavenkauf' in *Archiv* 3, p. 421, 96 f.

10 κ[α]τά κτλ.: It would also be possible to read κ[α] τῆ.

II *intercessiones*: See Introd. and cf. A. B. Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde*, p. 94, n. 2, to which Taubenschlag, *Law<sup>2</sup>*, p. 416, n. 16 adds P. Oxy. xii. 1489. 4, also citing *CJ* iv. 29. 23 § 2.

παραγραφῆ: Cf. P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67159. 44; 67162. 26; iii. 67310 verso, 4; P. Lond. i. 77. 7; ii. 483. 20; v. 1711. 49; &c.

ταῦτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν: = 'in other words'

#### IV. RECEIPTS, ACCOUNT, ORDERS TO SUPPLY

(36-42)

##### 36. RECEIPT FOR ROPES

Hermopolite nome (?)

8·6×15·2 cm.

Fourth century

This receipt is for 1,500 bundles of ropes made from the 'fibrous spathe of male date-palm' (LSJ, *Addenda*), which is presumably a payment due from the ἐποίκιον, in this case probably a village. It has been issued by Aurelius Besatus son of Hatres, the collector of chaff, to two comarchs, Tyrannus and Copreas; see the notes for difficulties with regard to some of the proper names.

The hand is a cursive which is certainly fourth-century and probably early in that century but retains older, alongside the newer, forms of letters. The papyrus is of poor quality; the foot of the document has disappeared, and the right margin is badly smudged and rubbed, so that the endings of lines are sometimes almost illegible. The verso is blank.

Αὐρηλίος Βησάτος Ἀτρήτος μητ[ρ]ος Κολλαῦχις ἀχν(ράριος)  
ἀπὸ ἐποικίου ... γυνδεως Αὐ[ρ]ηλίοι Τύραννος  
Πατώτος καὶ Κοπρέας Πόλιτος κωμάρχαι ἐποικίου  
Ἀχιλλέως χαιρειν. ἀπέσχον παρ' ὑμῶν  
5 ἐπὶ λόγου ὑπὲρ τοῦ προκειμένου ὑμῶν ἐποικίου  
σχοινίων σεβεννίων δεσμύ(δια) χιλίων πεν-  
[τακοσ]ίων, (γίνεται) σύμ(παν) Αφ, ὅν [...] .. .  
[.....].. [ ±25 ]  
[...]λογισα.[ ±20 ]  
10 [...]νκ[...] [ ±20 ]

1. 1. Κολλαύχιος. 2, 3. 1. Αὐρηλίοις Τυράννῳ ... Κοπρέᾳ ... κωμάρχαις.  
6. 1. σεβεννίων. 6, 7. 1. χιλια πεντακόσια.

5. ὑπερ.

'Aurelius Besatus son of Hatres, his mother being Collauchis, collector of chaff from the village of ... to the Aurelii Tyrannus son of Patos and Copreas son of Polis, comarchs of the village of Achilleus, greetings. I have received from you on account on behalf of your aforementioned village one thousand and five hundred bundles of palm-fibre ropes, sum total 1500, of which (?)....'

1 *Βησάτος*: A genitive *Βησάτον* is found in P. Flor. iii. 295. 8, and this would seem to entitle us to assume the existence of a nominative *Βησάτος* as one of the many variations on *Βῆς* (*Bés*). But it is possible that *Βησάτος* here is an error for *Βησίς*, a form much more widely attested.

4 *Ἄχιλλέως*: An ἑτοίκιον *Ἄχιλλέως* is found in several papyri, at least two of them (P. Stud. x. 39 and P. Cair. Preis. 2) certainly from the Hermopolite nome.

6 σεβενίων: Cf. P. Lond. iii, p. 164, 1134, 10; p. 42. 929. 23. It is clear that these ropes made from the male date-palm were in great demand. The same material was also used for making cables and anchors, as well as other parts of a ship's tackle. LSJ give *σεβένιος* or *σεβέννιος* as the correct spelling, but at least in the Aphrodito papyri *σεβέννιος* is the popular form of the word.

6 f. χλίων περ[τακος]λων: No doubt the slip arose from the proximity of the genitive endings earlier in the line and the abbreviation of the accusative. For δεσμίδια cf. P. Oxy. x. 1288. 9, 15; xiii. 1130. 14. 29; thus δεσμίδιον, δεσμίτιον, δεσμήδιον, and even δεσμόδιον (BGU iii. 837. 27), are all attested in the papyri.

### 37. RECEIPT FOR MONEY

Hermopolis

30·7×10·7 cm.

Late fourth century

This receipt is issued by Papnuthius son of Hierax to Aurelius Asclepiades, a soldier in the military unit known as the ἀριθμὸς γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων (see 5 n. below) and stationed at Hermopolis; it is apparently for a payment of two *solidi* out of a total of six owing, though the interpretation of ll. 7–11 is by no means certain.

P. Michael. 40. 81 n. has reopened the question, first raised by Bell in his note on P. Lond. v. 1661. 29, as to whether the notarial signatures to these documents were added by the notary himself, the body of the document having been compiled by a clerk, or both body and signature were the work of the same hand, formalized in the latter case and following a more or less stereotyped pattern. Here, as in most other instances, it must be admitted that the two hands are entirely different and can hardly have been the work of the same person. The first hand is large, slightly sloping, with a tendency to irregularity but marked affinities with the chancery script; the subscription is in a smaller, less practised, semi-uncial hand; the notarial signature is written in a distinctly flowing cursive of the type normally associated with legal endorsements. The papyrus has many holes, but the left margin is complete and the right almost so; the verso is blank.

*Παπνυθίους Ἰέρακος ἔξη[ς]*  
ὑπογράφων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμού-  
πολιτῶν Αὐρηλίων Ἀσκληπιαδῆ  
Εἰσ... στρατιώτου τῶν ἐν Ἐρμού-  
πόλει γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων]  
χ(αίρειν). πεπλήρωματος σοῦ  
χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δ[ύ]ο ἐκ  
τῶν σῶν συγ[γρ]αφῶν  
τῶν ἔγκειμέρων τῶν ἔξ

### 37. RECEIPT FOR MONEY

10 νομισματίων, λοιπαὶ  
χρυσοῦ νομιμ[σ]μάτια τέσσαρα,  
καὶ εἰς τ[ὴν ἀ]σφάλειαν ἐθέμην  
σο[ι] τήνδε τὴν ἀ]ποχήν  
ἐφ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς,  
15 Μεσορὴ λ, θ ἀνδικτ(ίονος).  
(2nd h.) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παπνυθίς Ἰέρακος  
δ προκ(είμενος) ἐξέδωκα  
ἀποχήν ὡς πρόκ(ειται)

(3rd h.) +δι' ἐμῷū Η[...]ίου ἐγρ(άφη) δ(ια) Φοιβ[δ]μυων[ος] ...

1, 16. Ιέρακος. 4. ω of στρατιώτου a correction; 1. στρατιώτη. 10. l. λοιπά. 12. Not space for τ[ὴν σὴν ἀ]σφάλειαν.

'Papnuthius son of Hierax, signing below, from the city of the Hermopolites, to Aurelius Asclepiades . . . , soldier of the most noble Moors stationed at Hermopolis, greetings. I have received full payment from you of two gold *solidi* out of the six *solidi* stipulated by the contents of your agreements, leaving four gold *solidi*. And I have issued for your security this receipt over my subscription, Mesore 30, 9th induction. (2nd h.) I, Aurelius Papnuthius son of Hierax, the aforementioned, have issued a receipt as set forth. (3rd h.) Written through me, . . . , through Phoebammon, . . . '

4 Εἰσ...: A proper name is expected here, that of Asclepiades' father, and there are various candidates beginning with *Eis-*, of which *Eisák*, *Eisámu*, and *Eisáss* may be mentioned. But the iota could be a rho, and the sigma an alpha. The genitive following is apparently a simple error on the part of the scribe; it is impossible to read -η.

5 An ἀριθμὸς *Μαύρων* was stationed at Hermopolis from the fourth century onwards, and there are several references to it; see, e.g. J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, especially pp. 142 f.

9 τῶν ἔγκειμέρων: The grammar here is hardly satisfactory, though the sense of *ἔγκειμένων* is good. To suppose an error for *τὰ ἔγκειμενα*, on the other hand, leads us nowhere.

10 λοιπά: There can be no doubt that there is an iota after the alpha, unless the perpendicular stroke is merely a mark of abbreviation; if this were so, then *λοιπά*(*δος*) might be considered. But the scribe who wrote the body of this document was by no means careful (cf. ll. 4, 9), and a simple mistake of this kind is not beneath him.

12 τ[ὴν]: Also possible is σ[ὴν].

19 Written in a hand which is quite different from the other two (see Introd.). If it has been correctly read, it would tend to support the view that the body of the document was written by a clerk and the signature added by the notary himself, as there are two persons mentioned in it, A . . . and Phoebammon.

### 38. ACCOUNT OF EXPENDITURE

13·5×18·9 cm.

Fifth century

This fragment is an account of expenditure in gold for the first induction. Most of the payments are made to persons in return for commodities supplied for use, or

services rendered, on an estate. At the foot is what at first sight appears to be a summary of the account, but closer inspection shows that it cannot be related to it in that way: the first total in l. 13 is correct, provided that we allow for the sum of one *solidus* less six carats in the lacuna at the end of l. 5, but the item *τῷ κόμετι* (l. 13) does not tally as a total and is probably inclusive of items from another, separate account or even, possibly, a fresh item altogether, though this is less likely. The remaining items in ll. 14 and 15 are probably also totals which include items from other accounts. We must conclude that the foot of the document is a summary of a number of accounts, of which ours is one, or even a continuation of the same account with the items pushed more closely together for lack of space.

On this interpretation it is likely that the head and foot of the papyrus are both incomplete, as is the left margin. The hand is a very firm and bold fifth-century cursive. The verso is blank.

λόγος ἀνα]λωμάτ(ων) χρυσικοῦ τῆς α ἵ(δικτίονος).  
 ](ὑπέρ?) ὡμοπλ(ίνθου) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) γ,  
 ]ῳ(ι) (ὑπέρ) σμήματ(os) τῆς α ἵ(δικτίονος) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) 5  
 ]ῳ(ι) (ὑπέρ) τιμῆς κυκ[λ]άδ(ος) εἰς χρ(είαν) τῆς μ[ηχα]νῆς  
 5 νοτίνης [νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ)] 5,  
 (ὑπέρ) τιμῆς σμήματ(os) εἰς χρ(είαν) τῆς ἀμπ(έλου)  
 τῆς δευτέρας ἵ(δικτίονος) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) 5,  
 ] τῷ κόμ(ετι) Θεοδώρῳ νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) ζ'',  
 ] λκύρᾳ εἰς χρ(είαν) αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀμα Ταρασοῦ νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) 5,  
 10 ] τῷ κόμ(ετι) (ὑπέρ) οἴ(νον) ἀπ(λῶν) ιδ̄ κ(εράτια) ιδ̄',  
 ] τῷ κόμ(ετι) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) 5,  
 ] αφ τῆς ἀμπέ(λου) κ(εράτια) θ.  
 (gap of one line)  
 ] νο(μισμάτια) ζ π(αρὰ) μ κ(εράτια) κγ̄', τ(ῷ) κόμετι νο(μισμάτια) 5  
 π(αρὰ) ξ̄',  
 15 ].αφ (ὑπέρ) τοῦ χρυσικοῦ νο(μισμάτια) δ κ(εράτια) ιδ,  
 ] κρὸν πα(λαιοῦ) σίτ(ον) κ(εράτια) αξ̄' ἀπ(ό) σι[τ]υκ[ο]ῦ ...  
 νο(μισμάτια) α κ(εράτια) ιαξ̄'.  
 . . . . .  
 1, 3, 7. ἴνχ. 10. ιδ̄'.  
 . . . . .

3 ]ῳ(ι): Probably a proper name in the dative; cf. l. 4.

σμήματ(os) The classical form (so LSJ, Doric *σμᾶμα*), but the papyri have also *σμῆγμα* (P. kl. Form. 72(a); P. Lond. i. 113, 4, 18 f.) and *ζμῆμα* (P. Lond. ii. 243, 23; P. Ryl. ii. 230, 8). Reil, *Gewerbe*,

p. 146 translates 'Seife', but it has also a more general sense—'Salbe, Schmieren' (WB)—apart from its more technical sense in connexion with cattle, viz. 'Abreiben' (P. Lond. 113).

4 κυκ[λ]άδ(ος): This is better than κυκ[λ]εντ(ηρίων) (-ον) or κυκ[λ]εψ(άτων) (-ος); see Reil, op. cit., pp. 82 f. and P. Oxy. xvi. 1899. 11 f., 14, 27; 1985. 12; 1991. 22. For κυκλάς = 'wheel' see now also P. Michael. 43, 10 n.

9 λκύρᾳ: There does not appear to be a known name which would fit here, but it would be impossible to read τ]ῆ κύρᾳ.

Ταρασοῦ: Cf. P. kl. Form. 42. 2, 5; P. Lond. Copt. 449 for the masculine form *Taraoū*. Here omicron would be just as good a reading as alpha, but Αμα is quite beyond dispute and seems to justify the feminine, though there is always a great variety in the Greek transcription of such names.

10 οἴ(νον) ἀπ(λῶν): Cf. P. kl. Form. 42. 9.

12 ]αφ: Cf. l. 14, which may contain the same name, if it is a name.

13 π(αρὰ) μ: The mu is certain and must be a mistake.

### 39. ORDERS TO SUPPLY

Fr. (a) 7·6×16·7 cm.

(b) 8·2×15·6 cm.

Fifth century

This is an order to supply, made out by an *actuario* to an *optio* (see 70, Introd.) and accompanied by the usual certificate of compliance. The *optio* to whom the order is addressed is in charge of *κριθάχυρον*, a mixture of barley and chaff (cf. P. Flor. iii. 377. 14), and he is instructed to issue one *καπιτόνη*, which was the fixed allowance of fodder made for each mount belonging to a soldier or government official and might consist of hay, chaff, or cereals (see Seeck, *RE* iii. 2. 1543 f.). The value could vary, of course, according to the class of mount and probably with the season also, but Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 227 ff., reckon the average daily value (in barley and hay) at 4 *choenices* of barley and approximately one-sixth of a camel-load of hay. It is to be distinguished from the allowance in money for the whole induction which is referred to in 78, Introd.

Of the two hands in which this document is written the first is noticeably more proficient and has more prominent minuscule features. There are also faint traces of writing on the verso of fr. (a), which are impossible to read and may have no connexion with the recto. The two fragments leave a gap of a few letters' width in the centre.

κυρίῳ μον ἀδελφῷ Θεοδοσίῳ ὁπτί(ων) κριθαχύ[ρον] Ἰωάννης ἀκτονάρ(ιος)· χορήγησον  
 'Ιωσηφίῳ

Φλαουιανοῦ καπιτόν ἐγ ἀπὸ Φαῶφι δωδεκ[άτης] δωδεκάτης ἵδικ(τίονος). (2nd h.)

Φλ(άονιος) Ἰωάννης

ἀκτονάριος, συμφωνῖ μοι ἡ χορ(ήγησις) ἀπὸ Φ[αῶφ]ι δωδεκάτης δωδεκάτης ἵδικ(τίονος).

1. Ἰωάννης, Ιωσηφίω.

2. ἵδικ// (cf. l. 3), Ιωάννης.

3. l. συμφωνεῖ.

To my lord and brother Theodosius, *optio* of barley and chaff, John, *actuarius*. Supply to Joseph son of Flavianus one *capitum* from the twelfth of Phaophi of the twelfth induction. (2nd h.) Flavius John, *actuarius*, I agree to the supply from the twelfth of Phaophi of the twelfth induction.'

*2 καπιτόν*: There can be little doubt that this is to be derived in the first instance from the Greek *καπητόν*, itself formed from *κάπη* and meaning 'barley'; so LSJ, following Hesychius, and Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter*, p. 22. But the true derivation and correct accentuation of the word have been obscured by its later connexion with *caput*: it came to mean 'barley per head' and so to be written in papyri as *κάπιτον* (*sic*), which in turn was borrowed back into Latin as *capitum*. That this explanation is the right one is clear from Ammianus xxii as quoted in P. Oxy. i. 43 recto iv. 9, 10 n.: *totidem pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dictitant capita*. But S. Daris, 'Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto' in *Aegyptus* 40 (1960), p. 212 persists in deriving *κάπιτον* (*sic*) simply from *caput*, overlooking entirely its earlier connexion with *καπητόν*.

#### 40. RECEIPT WITH GUARANTEE

Hermopolis?

9·8×5·8 cm.

Early sixth century

This fragment is part of a receipt which guarantees to the person making the payment immunity from future claims; it is a type not uncommon at this period and has no points of unusual interest except the Hebraic proper names, combined with the description of Symeon, the person issuing the receipt, as a Samaritan. The existence of a Samaritan community at Hermopolis is attested by 29, where, however, as befits a legal document, the description is more explicit—'Samaritans by religion'. It is possible that this fragment is of the same provenance.

Neither of the two Byzantine cursives employed is easy to read, ligatures being frequent, or to date precisely, but a date in the late fifth or early sixth century is likely, probably the latter. The first hand bears a superficial resemblance to *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 47(a) but is certainly not as late as it. The right half of the papyrus is missing, and the verso is blank.

π(αρὰ) Συμ[εώνος Ἡρακλάμμωνος . . .]

φ Μανασῆ Εὐσέβιου Σαμαρίτη, ἀπὸ τῆ[ς Ἐρμουπόλεως (?) . . .]  
εβι., Θώθ δεκάτη, καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχω πρός σε ἐντεῦθεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν]  
στὴν ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην σοι πεπ[οίημαι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὡς πρόκειται.]  
5 (2nd h.) Συμεὼν Ἡρακλάμμων, στη[χῖ μοι τὸ ἐντάγμαν ὡς πρόκειται.]<sup>+</sup>

1. Some addition or correction in darker ink after sigma.  
the eta of στη very badly formed.

'From Symeon son of Heraclammon . . . To Manases son of Eusebius, a Samaritan from Hermopolis (?) . . . , on the tenth of Thoth, and I have no claim against you henceforth, and for your security I have had this agreement made as set forth above. (2nd h.) Symeon son of Heraclammon, I am satisfied with the receipt as set forth above.'

5. l. Ἡρακλάμμων, στοιχεῖ;

#### 40. RECEIPT WITH GUARANTEE

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<sup>1</sup> Συμ[ : Possibly the writer put down *συμ* in fainter ink, was dissatisfied with the epsilon, and so added another epsilon over the first, this time after replenishing the ink in his pen or by employing a firmer stroke.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the chi-rho monogram is interesting but should not necessarily be taken to indicate Christian origin at this period; as experience with non-Christian documents in the earlier and later Byzantine periods, as well as the Arab period, shows, such symbols and formulae were often written without any thought of their original significance.

*Μανασῆ*: This is the dative of *Μανασῆς*, which, with the alternative form *Μανασῆς*, represents Manasseh in Greek (cf. *Ev. Matt.* i. 10 and see the remarks of Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, s.v. *Μανασῆς*).

<sup>3</sup> εβι.. : This is most puzzling: the epsilon and iota are quite certain, the beta reasonably so, though it could be read as mu; but the last trace could be of omicron, omega, or sigma, and even ου or ας might be suggested. There are several possible interpretations, the best of them perhaps being that [Εὐσ]έβιον should be read, assuming an incorrect word-division, and explained as a reference to a payment from the estate of Eusebius. But it is never entirely satisfactory to fall back on the possibility of a very simple error on the part of the scribe in order to explain a difficulty, and what we really need at this point is an amount in money or kind, since it is reasonable to assume that the preceding lacuna began with *ἔσχον παρὰ σου* or *πεπλήρωμα* or *δέδωκας* or some other such formula.

#### 41. RECEIPT FOR ANNONA AND CANONICA

Sixth century

This receipt for the public *annona* and *canonica* of a fifteenth induction is complete and in form to be compared with others already published, e.g. *P. Lond.* iii, p. 250, 1310; v. 1740, 1758, 1759, 1760; *P. kl. Form.* 297, 298. The features shared in common by all these receipts are the beginning δέδωκεν (in full or abbreviated) ὄντος or ὄνοματος followed by a proper name in the nominative or genitive case, the payment διὰ τοῦ δεῦτη, and the countersignature of a διαστολέας, except that the conclusion of *P. kl. Form.* 298 is missing and the last line of *P. Lond.* 1760 is uncertain. The problems of the resolution of ὄνοματος in l. 1 and of the interpretation of σὺν ὄντος in l. 2 are discussed below.

At the foot of the papyrus appears what may have been a smudge or the traces of a cross followed by two or three letters; otherwise it is unmutilated, its verso blank.

+ δέδωκεν ὄντοματος Σαραπίων Ἐλλαδίου  
σὺν ὄντοματος διὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Ζαχαρίου λαναρίου  
διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσακίου νοταρίου  
εἰς λόγον δημοσίου ἀννωνικοῦ καὶ κανονικοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτης  
5 ἀνδρικοῦ χρυσοῦ νομιμούτης δύο καὶ κεφαλίας ἔξι, γύναιον  
χρυσοῦ νομιμούτης βιβλίας μόνον. + Γεώργιος διαστολέας, συμφωνεῖ  
μονον.

3. Ἰσακίου. 5. ἀνδρικοῦ. 6. μονον. is written as an anagram and the individual letters are hard to disentangle.

C 1450

G

'Sarapion son of Helladius has paid on his account together with the account 'through the heirs of Zacharias, woolworker', through his brother Isacius, notary, to the account of public charges for *annona* and *canonica* of the fifteenth induction two *solidi* and six carats of gold; total, 2 *solidi* 6 carats only. George, cashier, I agree.'

<sup>1</sup> ὄνόμ(ares): The usual resolution hitherto has been ὄνομ(a); where it has been followed by a genitive, it has been taken as the subject, and where it has been followed by a nominative, this has been understood as a mistake for the genitive. Our first inclination was to understand Σαραπίων similarly as a mistake for a genitive here, but the publication of another new text by H. Metzger in *Museum Helveticum* 18 (1961), p. 28, which begins δέδωκεν ὄνόματος Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἐρμαίον, suggests that the formula in all these receipts should be the same and that the resolution ὄνόμ(ares) should be generally adopted. It is not easy, however, to explain this formula, unless we are prepared to accept that ὄνόματος, which would have been in place after a passive verb, has been retained after the active too but reduced to nothing more than a sign marking the subject. If this interpretation is correct, we may compare Bell's note on P. Lond. v. 1741. 1, where it is possible that a similar confusion of construction has occurred; similarly, we may refer to the common occurrence of the accusative after ἐμετρήθησαν ἡμῖν in many *sitologus*-receipts, the latter phrase being virtually the equivalent of ἐμετρήθημεν or μεμετρήμεθα.

<sup>2</sup> σὺν ὄν(όματi): This reading is certain, and no other word or words combining the letters in this order suggest themselves. Presumably Sarapion is paying a joint contribution for himself and for the heirs of Zacharias, and this suits the fact that the payment is made through Isacius, notary, whose presence would otherwise be difficult to explain—i.e. if the heirs of Zacharias were taken to be Sarapion's agents. Yet the explanation is not altogether satisfactory, especially as none of our parallel texts has σὺν ὄνόματi, nor does it fit in well with the explanation of ὄνόματος already advanced in 1 n.

#### 42. RECEIPT FOR TAXES

8·1 x 30·3 cm.

Sixth century

This is a receipt of the δέδωκας-type which raises an interesting problem of interpretation. The receipt is issued for the payment of the first instalment for the *canon* of the eighth induction by Julianus, a steward, but it is not clear exactly who issues it, as the letters before *Βικτωρίης* in l. 1 are missing. There are several possible explanations, but it is probable that the first hand is that of Victorina's representative and the second that of the steward Julianus, and that, after he had recorded his agreement, Victorina or her representative signed at the end, the group of large 'squiggles' after *συμ(φωνῶ)* standing for *σξεγμ(είωμαι)*.

The hands in which the receipt is written are sixth-century; the verso is blank.

[π(αρὰ) τῆς κυρ(ίας)] *Βικτωρίης* (gap) τῷ θ(ανασιωτάτῳ) 'Ιουλιανῷ πρῷ(νοητῇ)·

δέδωκας ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου ὁγδόνης ἵνδ(ικτίονος)

[ὑπὲρ τῆς] πρώτης καταβολ(ῆς) κανόν(ος) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) η ἵνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσ(οῦ) νομισ-  
μ(άτια) δέκα τρία κεράτια δέκα ἑπτά

[ἡ]μ[η]σι, [γ]ι(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) υ κ(εράτια) ιζ̄ς ζυ(γῶ). (2nd h.) ἐγράφ(η)

Ἄθην ζ, ἵνδ(ικτίονος) η, γι(νεται) νομισμάτια δέκα τρία κεράτια δέκα

#### 42. RECEIPT FOR TAXES

83

έπτα ἡμησι· ἀπὸ χειρός μου 'Ιουλιανοῦ πρῷ(νοητοῦ) 'Ιωάννου, συμ(φωνῶ).  
(3rd h.) σξεγμ(είωμαι) (?).

1. τωθ ιουλιανω. 1, 2. ἵνδ/. 3, 4. 1. ἡμησι. 4. ιουλιανον, ιωαννον.

'(From the lady) Victorina to the most admirable Julianus, steward. You have paid from your account for the eighth induction (for the) first instalment of the *canon* of the same 8th induction thirteen *solidi* seventeen and a half carats of gold, total, 13 *solidi* 17½ carats of gold by measure. Written on Hathyr 7, induction 8, total thirteen *solidi* seventeen and a half carats; by my hand, Julianus, steward of John; I agree. Signed.'

1 [π(αρὰ) τῆς κυρ(ίας)]: Another possibility would be to supply 'Ιωάννης πρῷ(νοητής)', partly in ectionesis, and to read 'Ιωάννης in l. 4. A Victorina issues a receipt to a farmer in P. kl. Form. 318 (= P. Grenf. ii. 97, sixth-century and perhaps from Hermopolis). A Victorina is also a party to the long marriage-contract, P. Cair. Masp. i. 67006 verso, made by her prospective father-in-law Victor with her father John. If the interpretation suggested here is correct, then our Victorina must have been an important landowner.

4 ἀπὸ χειρός: διὰ χειρός is more common, but παρὰ χειρί (sic) (P. kl. Form. 330. 1) and ἀπὸ χειρός (P. kl. Form. 372. 2) are also found. It is possible that there may have been a confusion with another common formula, χειρὶ τοῦ δεῖνα.

## V. MINOR DOCUMENTS

## (a) PRIVATE LETTERS (43-51)

43. 10.2 × 13 cm. Fourth century. Opening lines of a letter, in which there is little of interest apart from the occurrence of the Hellenized form of the name Jovinianus (Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, p. 75). Written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality with many holes. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> +τῷ δεσπότῃ μον καὶ κατὰ πάντα μοι      <sup>2</sup> τιμιωτάτῳ πατρὶ Ἐρμάμμων  
<sup>3</sup> (space) Ιουβιναφός.      <sup>4</sup> ἐν πρώτοις σε, ἄπα, προσαγορεύω      <sup>5</sup> μετὰ παγτὸς  
τοῦ οἴκου σου· πολλὰ προσ-      <sup>6</sup> αγόρευέ μοι τὴν μήτερά μου καὶ τοὺς      <sup>7</sup> ἀδελ-  
φούς μον καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ      <sup>8</sup> καὶ [ ±20 ] καὶ τ[.....]  
3. Ιουβιναφός

44. 11.7 × 8.4 cm. Fourth century. Fragment of a letter, containing the right-hand lower portion only, written in a fluent but irregular cursive on the recto of papyrus of fair quality. It is difficult to assess how much is missing, and, except for possible references to Memphis and to various journeys, there is no hint at the purport of the letter. Part of the address survives on the verso.

<sup>1</sup> ]. παρακαλῶ σε      <sup>2</sup> ] ἀνελθε εἰς Μέμ-      <sup>3</sup> [φιν (?)]      <sup>4</sup> δε τὰ τῶν Ἀρσενω( )  
<sup>4</sup> β]ούλωμαι ἐλθεῖν με-      <sup>5</sup> [τὰ (?)] ων ὡς καὶ οὕπω      <sup>6</sup> ]. ἀνέβην μετὰ Σε-  
<sup>7</sup> ]... μή μον ἀφῆς ἐπὶ      <sup>8</sup> ]. μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς      <sup>9</sup> ]. δλ. εις οὖν ἀναβα-  
<sup>10</sup> ] Πάειτος ἦ οὐκ ἔστιν      <sup>11</sup> ] τάτη σου εἰς με μάλισ-      <sup>12</sup> [τα] τὰς κλῖτες  
παρὰ      <sup>13</sup> ]..... ἄλλο      <sup>14</sup> ]...σογ. ἀσπάζομαι Θα-      <sup>15</sup> ] καὶ τὰ  
παιδία αὐτῆς.

Verso: <sup>16</sup> ]α π(αρὰ) Ισιδώρας.

<sup>1</sup> The second alpha is very uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Αρσενω( ): l. Αρσενο(ιτων)? Assuming that the reference in ll. 2, 3 is to Memphis and not Memnonia, this would not be at all impossible, since neither of the vowel changes would be without parallel. But ἀρσένω(ν) is also just possible. The ω of τῶν is a correction of omicron.

<sup>5</sup> The ο of οὕπω is a correction, possibly of alpha.

<sup>7</sup> Or divide ]. . . μημον?

<sup>11</sup> The end of the line is extremely cursive, but εἰς Μέμφις is unlikely.

<sup>12</sup> κλῖτες: a certain reading; l. κλεῖδας?

45. 6.7 × 26.8 cm. Fourth century. Written in a neat, clear, almost literary hand with distinct affinities to ecclesiastical hands and few cursive features. On the recto of papyrus of fair quality in two fragments which join together immediately below

-θρωπος in l. 5 and nowhere else touch each other. About half of the letter remains, but the shape of the fragments means that this surviving half is very oddly distributed. It is a Christian letter, of which both recipient and writer, certainly the latter, may be ecclesiastics. Mention is made of Victor, of corn which he (?) had received, and of an Agathus, and rather repetitive directions are given for the dispatch of someone, possibly Agathus. The name Victor reappears on the verso as that of the addressee, but that is not surprising when the name is so common; the address is in the same hand but written larger. The main interest of the fragment, which begins with salutations and ends with the conventional valedictory formula, lies in its phraseology, e.g. (l. 2) ἐν τῇ παρονσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος, for which see H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.*, pp. 172 ff. and especially the parallels cited there from Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, and Synesius.

<sup>1</sup> [ ±7 ] ἐλαχίστου μον ρήματος, ἀσπάζομαι τὴν σὴν λαμπρὰν ἀδελφότητ[α]      <sup>2</sup> [ώς  
καὶ ἀστ]άσομαι αὐτὴν πάλιν ἐν τῇ παρονσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος· ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαῖρε.      <sup>3</sup> [±7]  
πρὸ δλίγωψ ἡμερῶν ώς ἡ σὴ φδ[ε]λφότ[ησ..].... Ἀγαθον' [....]δω....      <sup>4</sup> [±7]  
θοντων ἀποστρέψαμετο Ἀγαθον μ[η] (?) ±22 ]      <sup>5</sup> [.... ὁ ἄν]θρωπος, [ώς] ἔλαβεν  
‘Βίκτωρ’ τὸν σῖτον ἀγ[ ±22 ]      <sup>6</sup> σεν ἥμην φύτόν, ώς πέμπω αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθ[α  
±22 ]      <sup>7</sup> αὐτῷ πέμψαι αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα, ἐπειδὴ εἰσ[ ±22 ]      <sup>8</sup> νοι· ἔρωσο  
ἐν κυρίῳ.<sup>+</sup>

Verso: <sup>9</sup> τῷ τὰ πάντα λαμπρο(τάτῳ) ἀδελφῷ κυρίῳ Βίκτορι Ταυρῆος.

<sup>1</sup> ἐλαχίστου: No doubt in its self-depreciatory sense; cf. SB 4323. 20 and P. Lond. v. 1676. 7. Probably a verb or verbal adjective taking the genitive case and expressing 'care for' or 'recollection of' should be supplied.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν κῶ χαῖρε (middle point): Cf. ἐν κυρίῳ written in full in ll. 8, 9, yet another illustration of the inconsistency of Christian correspondents, even ecclesiastics, in their employment of, or disregard for, *nomina sacra*; see further P. Mert. ii. 93. 35 n. On the verso κν and ριω are separated by the common device, used as a tie-mark, x x.

<sup>5</sup> [ώς]: Possibly [δ]ς.

<sup>6</sup> σεν: Difficult to read, it may just possibly be a remnant of πέμψον.

46. 12.8 × 8 cm. Fourth century. A small fragment, probably the bottom left-hand portion of a letter, containing for the most part only the conventional greetings and written on very dark papyrus which is rather thicker than usual. Verso, which is disintegrating, blank; only the left margin is complete.

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Μέμφιο[ς]      <sup>2</sup> διὰ τοὺς κύρους[      <sup>3</sup> τὴν κυρίαν μον τὴν[      <sup>4</sup> μετὰ  
τὸν γυλκύταπ[ον]      <sup>5</sup> [ἀ]σπάζωμε τῶν κ[ύριον]      <sup>6</sup> Γερόντιον μετὰ  
τῆς[ ]      <sup>7</sup> Θεωνίτος· ἀσπάζω[με] [      <sup>8</sup> Πλουτάμμωναν μ[ετὰ] [      <sup>9</sup> τὸν  
κύρ[ιον]      <sup>10</sup> κυρίας μον Ατίας κ[αὶ] [      <sup>11</sup> ἀσπάζωμε τὸν  
Μαρ[ίας . . . τὴν]      <sup>12</sup> μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μον [ . . . μετὰ τῆς]      <sup>13</sup> κυρ[ίας μον  
<sup>14</sup> ἀδελφῆν μον Μ.[

<sup>2</sup> l. κυρίους.

<sup>4</sup> l. γλυκύτατον.

<sup>5, 7, 11</sup> l. ἀσπάζομαι. <sup>5</sup> l. τόν.

<sup>7</sup> Θεωνίτος: probably another spelling of Θεωνίδος, genitive of Θεωνίς (f.).

<sup>8</sup> l. Πλουτάμμωνα.

<sup>9</sup> l. ὀφθαλμόν, possibly used in its figurative sense here, in which case the word following may be a proper name.

**47.** 12·7×8·3 cm. Late fourth century. The greater part of a letter, probably Christian, written in a strong, legible hand on the recto of papyrus of fairish quality. The size of the whole letter may be gauged from the greetings written in a single line from top to bottom in the left margin, and from the remains of the address written in large letters on the verso. Unfortunately, it is the main message which is missing.

<sup>1</sup> κυρίω μου πατρὶ	<sup>2</sup> Ἡλιοδώρῳ Μακάριος.	<sup>3</sup> πρὸ μὲν ἀπάντων	<sup>4</sup> εὐχο-
μ[αι] τῷ Θεῷ περὶ	5 τῆς ε[ῦρ]ωστίας σου.	6 ἐπὶ το[σοῦτο]ν μιμησ-	
<sup>7</sup> κω ὅπως τὴν ἀξίω-	<sup>8</sup> σιν πληρώσῃς διὰ	<sup>9</sup> τὸν ἀδελφὸν	<sup>10</sup> ἡμῶν
Κάστορα Πε-	11 σοῦ Ἐνκωτ (?) , ὅπως	12 ποιήσῃς τὸν πραγ(ματευτὴν)	
13 γράψε τοῖς [...] μ...	14 [...] ε[]		
15 (In left-hand margin): πολ(λ)ὰ προσαγορεύω τὸν κύριόν μ[ου]			]

Verso: <sup>16</sup> κυρίω μοι πα[τρὶ] Ἡλιοδώρῳ Μακάριος.]

<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ: Probably not for ἐπει here.

<sup>10, 11</sup> Πεσοῦ: Cf. Πεσᾶς (genit. Πεσᾶ) in P. Lips. i. 97. 11, 12; 18. 5; Πεσάϊ (indecl.) and Πεσόου (indecl.) in P. Lond. iv, p. 567; Πεσοῦς (indecl.) in SB i. 1228.

<sup>1</sup> Ενκωτ: A name Πεσοενκωτ seems unlikely, especially as Πεσοῦ by itself is such a reasonable form. It is not possible to read ἐν κ(υρ)ῳ, since the τ is quite beyond dispute.

<sup>13</sup> l. γράψαι.

<sup>15</sup> For writing in the margin cf. P. Mert. ii. 93. 34 f. and n.

**48.** 17·6×17·4 cm. Fifth century. Part of a letter written in dark ink, which has faded and smudged only in places, on the recto of papyrus of fair quality; left margin missing and with it the left-hand side of the letter, but head and foot apparently complete. Verso contains part of the address, written in large, upright letters which may indicate a stylized, rather than a different, hand. The precise meaning of the letter cannot be determined, but it is clearly addressed to a superior and would appear to be a defence of the actions of a third person, confronted with a charge of attempted robbery (λησταί, l. 7), this involving τὰ ἀνδριαντάρια τῆς πόλεως and τὰ ἵππαρια αὐτῆς, i.e. a lady also apparently concerned (cf. l. 7). The chase of the robbers seems to have led past the vegetable plot to the suburbs, and a horse's leg to have been broken in the course of it.

<sup>1</sup> [ δ]εσποτείας παρεγενόμην πρὸς τὸν λαμπρ(ότατον) Ἰωάννη[ν] <sup>2</sup> [ (?)

β]ακλισθέντος διελέχθην αὐτῷ καὶ ἡνέσχετο πρὸς τὴν <sup>3</sup> [ ]. ἀσθη τὸ ἐν νόμοι-

μα· λέγει μοι δὲ ἴνα μὴ ἔξαχθῇ <sup>4</sup> [ ]. λευτον ἴνα καὶ αὐτῷ δ[οθ]ῆ {αὐτῷ} ὁλίγον, τί ποτε δὲ νίον <sup>5</sup> [ ]οι· τὸ οὖν δοκοῦν αὐτ[ῷ] .... τοῦ κελεῦσαὶ ἔψημά [τα]ι (?) <sup>6</sup> [ ]ης πράττω. ταῦτα δ[έ] γέγραφα ἴνα μὴ νομίζῃ <sup>7</sup> [ ]ς· διδάσκω δὲ αὐτὴν ὅτι λησταὶ ἐπῆλθαν τῇ <sup>8</sup> [ ] τὰ ἀνδριαντάρια τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὡς ἐδιώχθησαν <sup>9</sup> [ ] ἔξ]ω τοῦ λαχάνου ἐξῆλθαν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ <sup>10</sup> [ (?) θέλοντ]ες λαβεῖν τὰ ἵππαρια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς <sup>11</sup> [ ] ἄλλος, ἐκλάσθη ὁ ποὺς αὐτοῦ τὸ μελανόν.

Verso: <sup>12</sup> [ ]+δεσπ(ότη) ἐμῷ.

<sup>3</sup> The letter before -ασθη might be xi but not rho, thus ruling out ἡγο]ράσθη. ἔξωδ]ιάσθη has also been considered but iota too is unlikely.

<sup>4</sup> l. νίος? The letter before -λευτον does not look like upsilon.

<sup>6</sup> ἴνα.

<sup>7</sup> l. ἐπῆλθον (cf. 9, l. ἐξῆλθον), but -av is good *koine*.

<sup>8</sup> l. ἀνδριαντάρια.

<sup>10</sup> ἵππαρια.

<sup>11</sup> l. τοῦ μελανοῦ?

**49.** 7·7×15 cm. Sixth century. The beginning of a letter written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality in a fluent but careless, often very faint, cursive which is clearly sixth-century. Faint traces on the verso. Folds are suggested by the two parallel cracks running down the length of the papyrus about one-third and two-thirds of the way across. The last line is very difficult to read.

<sup>1</sup> φ διὰ τῶν παρόντων μου γραμμάτων	<sup>2</sup> γράφω· πολ(λ)ὰ προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπά-
ζωμε	3 τὴν ὑμετέραν γνωίαν ἀδελφότηταν. ἔπιτα
4 l. ἀπελθεῖν;	4 δὲ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς
5 l. Ἰλάριον;	5 Ἐλάριων καὶ κ...οθ..αι ...επιναστον
Verso: <sup>6</sup> φ τῷ δεσπότῃ μου ἀδελφῷ κυρ(ίῳ) Καλεψίκον	7 χαρτουλαρ[ίῳ παρὰ]
Στεφ[ά]γον σχολ(αστικοῦ).	

<sup>1</sup> δια.

<sup>2</sup> l. ἀσπάζομαι.

<sup>3</sup> l. γνωίαν ἀδελφότητα, ἔπιτα.

<sup>4</sup> l. ἀπελθεῖν;

<sup>5</sup> l. Ἰλάριον; all after this is very faint: it is possible that an aorist passive infinitive, e.g. κυρῳ-θῆναι, was written here and that it was followed by καὶ. Many possibilities have been considered for the end of the line but not one is really satisfactory; upsilon could be read before τον.

<sup>6</sup> l. δεσπότη, Καλεψίκον (cf. 71, 2).

**50.** 12·6×13·3 cm. Sixth century. ? Oxyrhynchus. Part of a letter written on papyrus of good quality in a proficient, sloping hand much given to flourishes especially at the ends of lines. The address is in a large, upright semi-uncial with affinities to the chancery hand. About half the width of the sheet is probably missing, but head and foot are complete. The writer is a Christian (μὰ τὸν κύριον and the symbol of the crossed

rho at the end of the letter), who is making a request of his correspondent clearly connected with some financial transaction, probably a loan on security (*κεφάλαιον*, *ἀσφάλειαν*, *ἀπεδόθη*), and concludes rather abruptly with something like 'and it is for my daughter's (? son's) sake that I have asked it of you'. *κεφάλαιον* almost certainly has a financial flavour here (= 'capital' or 'total'), but *ἀναιρεῖν* is more difficult to understand. It is used of withdrawing or receiving money (*WB*, s.v. 1 and *LSJ*, s.v. B 8), but all the examples quoted are in the middle, whereas here *ἀνελεῖ* is surely active. The sense 'take up at interest' (*Dem.* 50. 17; cf. *BGU* iv. 1136. 2; *P. Lond.* iii, p. 136, 1168. 6) also requires the middle voice. It is possible, therefore, that we should consider rendering the phrase 'on that account he will annul the principal', an unorthodox expression but not entirely inconsistent with the strong *μὰ τὸν κύριον*; see *LSJ* s.v. ii. 2. In any case, we must stress—with Moulton and Milligan—the commercial emphasis of the verb in the papyri. It is interesting to notice that *ποθεωτῆς* is not in *WB*, *LSJ*, or Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*; yet it occurs in *P. Oxy.* xvi. 1869. 2. 13 (referred to in the *Konträindex* and by Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*) and now in *P. Apoll.* Ano 41. 7. (Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*, p. 90.)

<sup>1</sup> γράμματα τῆς σῆς ποθεωτῆτος

<sup>2</sup>] ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων, καὶ μὰ τὸν κύριον

<sup>3</sup> ]ιον δι’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀγελεῖ

<sup>4</sup>]ειναι, ἵνα τῇ ἔξῆς γράψω αὐτῇ καὶ

<sup>5</sup> ἔπει[μ]ψ[α] ὑμῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

<sup>6</sup>]ω, ὡς ἀπεδόθη τῷ θαυμασ(ιωτάω)

<sup>7</sup>] παιδὸς ἐρώτησα ὑμᾶς. ♀

Verso: (2nd h.) <sup>8</sup>]ρ ἐπίδ(os) τῷ τὰ πάντ(a) λαμπρο(τάτω) (καὶ) ποθε[ιω(τάτω)

<sup>4</sup> ἵνα; τῇ ἔξῆς = 'on the next day' (cf. *P. Oxy.* vii. 1063. 6; viii. 1163. 3).

<sup>5</sup> ὑμιν.

<sup>7</sup> ὑμας; l. ἡρώτησα.

51. 20.5 × 11.2 cm. Seventh century. Part of a letter written in a distinctly sloping hand, rather cramped and similar in appearance to Schubart, *Griech. Pal.*, Taf. 62 but with minuscule tendencies less advanced, on the recto of papyrus discoloured and of poorish quality; probably there is much missing from both vertical margins and the foot of the papyrus. As there is uncertainty as to how much is missing, it would seem to be dangerous to attempt a reconstruction, but ll. 6, 7 suggest that the letter reflects the periodic incursions from the desert which were characteristic of this period.

<sup>1</sup>]ων καὶ ὄντως ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς [

<sup>2</sup>]μῶν ἔχει ἐν ταχεῖ πληρωθῆναι [

<sup>3</sup>] σου ἐσάπαξ τε τὸ πόσον τῆς τοιαύτη[ς

<sup>4</sup>] ἐὰν μὴ ἐνδώσητε ἐκ τῆς ἀνεγ-

κεφ[ά]λ[ου]

<sup>5</sup>]ων· ὡς εἰκὸς γὰρ ἥδη ἐμάθητε ὡς ε[

<sup>6</sup>]τοῦ Σκέλους καὶ

ἀγῆθεν εἰς τὰ ἴδι[α]

<sup>7</sup>]τὰ χωρία πραιτεύοντες καὶ ε[

<sup>8</sup>]η ἦν [.....] καὶ

ἔγραψέν μοι Διοσκο[

<sup>3</sup> ἐσάπαξ: Sc. for εἰσάπαξ.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνεγκεφ[ά]λ[ου]: Only two other passages are cited in which this word occurs: *P. Lond.* iii. 1075. 19 and *Galen* v. 314.

<sup>5</sup> l. ἔμαθετε.

<sup>6</sup> ἀγῆθεν: The nu read here could equally well be a pi.

### (b) PETITIONS (5-3)

52. 10.8 × 16.1 cm. A.D. 399. Hermopolis. Fragment of a petition to a *nyctostratus*, written on the recto of poor papyrus which has almost disintegrated. Verso blank. Cf. 53.

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αονίου) Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων. <sup>2</sup> Αὔρη-  
λιώ Πέτρῳ Φιλάμωρος πολιτευομένῳ ἐνάρχῳ <sup>3</sup> νυκτοστρατήγῳ Ἐρμουπόλεως  
τῆς λαμπροτάτης <sup>4</sup> π(αρὰ) Αύρ(ηλίου) Ἄνναγ 'Ιωσῆτος 'Ιουδαίου πορφυροπάλου  
<sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. κατὰ τὴν νύκτα τὴν εἰς τὴν <sup>6</sup> σήμερον ἡμέραν, ἤτις  
ἐστὶν Ἐπειθ Ἡ, τινὲς κα- <sup>7</sup> κοῦροι ἐπιστάμτες τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κέλλᾳ ἐν Θα....ειν (?)  
<sup>8</sup> [ἄπαν]τα ἡμέ[ρ]α σκεύη .ολ..ος πρὸς τῷ Τυχείῳ κ[α]ὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> l. λαμπροτάτων, but the whole word is difficult to read.

<sup>2</sup> l. Φιλάμωρος.

<sup>4</sup> There is no *Ἄννα* in the *Namenbuch*, but there are many proper names very like it; it would appear to be the Jewish name 'Annan' left un-Hellenized (cf. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschen-namen in griech. Inschriften und Papyri* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 23. *ἴωσητος* ίουδαιον.

<sup>7</sup> Or divide ἐνθα? The last letters are far from clear, but we must be dealing with a single word after either ἐν or ἐνθα, since word division at the end of the line would scarcely be possible here.

<sup>8</sup> This line too is very difficult, and πρὸς τῷ Τυχείῳ is conjectural, the ει being by no means certain.

53. 10 × 15 cm. A.D. 399. Hermopolis. A copy, or the original, of 52, written in the same hand and on poor papyrus, which is even less well preserved than that on which 52 is written; it is even harder to read than 52. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αονίου) Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικοῦ <sup>2</sup> τῶν [λαμ]προτάτων.  
<sup>3</sup> Α[ύ]ρηλιώ Π[έ]τρῳ Φιλάμωνος πολιτευομένῳ <sup>4</sup> ἐνάρχῳ νυκτοστρατήγῳ Ἐρ-  
μουπόλεω[σ] τῆς λαμπροτάτης <sup>5</sup> π(αρὰ) [Αύρ(ηλίου)] Ἅγγαν 'Ιωσῆτος 'Ιουδαίου  
πορφυροπάλου <sup>6</sup> ἀ[π]ό τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. κατὰ τὴν αὐ[τὴν] νύκτα τὴν εἰς  
[τὴν] <sup>7</sup> [σήμερον] ἡμέρ[αν], ἥ[τις] ἐφ[τὰν] Ε[π]ιθ[ε]το

<sup>3</sup> l. Φιλάμωρος.

<sup>5</sup> ίωσητος ίουδαιον.

### (c) PRIVATE DOCUMENTS (54-67)

54. 9.3 × 14.6 cm. A.D. 346. Fragment of a deed of surety, apparently the same document as 21, but not written in the same hand; possibly it is a copy of 21, as the hand

here is much more careless, and the papyrus of a poorer quality. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the fragment has been cut away from the rest of the document by means of zigzag cuts very like those which separate the top of 21 from the remainder; presumably a number of copies or documents were cut at the same time. For the proper names see the commentary on 21.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν      <sup>2</sup> Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ'' καὶ      <sup>3</sup> Κάγι-  
σταντος Αὐγούστου τὸ γ''.      <sup>4</sup> Αὐρηλίω Δημέα Δημέου πραιποστίω      <sup>5</sup> η'  
πάγο[ν] Ἐρμοπολίτου      <sup>6</sup> παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ατρῆτος Πάμακος μη[τρὸς]      <sup>7</sup> Ἐδένης  
κ[αὶ] Παμούνιος Ὄδρου μη[τρὸς] Τραφερ-      <sup>8</sup> σόῖτος [καὶ Ρούφου Προοῦτος ὁ[πο-  
γρά]φοντος      <sup>9</sup> κ[αὶ] Πετροβάστιος Παθερμουθίου μη[τρὸς] Λουσίας      <sup>10</sup> κ[αὶ]  
Αἰεντος Φέυτος μη[τρὸς] Τινογ[ρίας]  
<sup>8</sup> σοῖτος.  
<sup>10</sup> μη[τρὸς].

**55.** 13·6 × 12·2 cm. Fourth century. The last eight lines of a deed of surety, written in a neat cursive on the recto of papyrus of fair quality. The corrections in the last two lines seem to indicate some haste on the part of the writer. Verso blank. For the connexion of this fragment with 56 see the Introduction there.

[ ] (?) μετὰ πά-      <sup>1</sup> [σ]ης ἐπιεικ[είας κα]ὶ μ[ο]νῆς καὶ ἐμφανεία[ς]      <sup>2</sup> καὶ  
μὴ ἀπολειμπανόμενον. ἐὰν δὲ ἀφυστερήσῃ      <sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴ παραστήσω, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς τὸν  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ      <sup>4</sup> λόγον ὑποστήσομαι ἥ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ θείῳ      <sup>5</sup> ὄρκω καὶ τῷ  
περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ, καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθείς) ὀμολ(όγησα).      <sup>6</sup> Αὐρήλιος Σόις Παήσιος  
ὁ προκέιμενος      <sup>7</sup> ἐγγυῶμε καὶ παραστήσω ὡς πρόκειται.      <sup>8</sup> (2nd h.) δι'  
ἐμοῦ Σιλβανοῦ ἐγράφη.

<sup>2</sup> l. ἀπολειμπανόμενον.

<sup>6</sup> Παήσιος: Genitive of Παήσις; cf. Παήσιον (56, 7). The pi seems to have been a correction of alpha, the final form of the letter approximating closely to the minuscular pi. l. προκείμενος; σοῖς.

<sup>7</sup> l. ἐγγυῶμε. The ει of πρόκειται is a correction of η.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 56 and see the Introd. there.

**56.** 12·7 × 9·1 cm. Fourth century. Part of the last nine lines of a deed of surety, quite possibly another copy of 55, but written by a different hand on the recto of worm-eaten papyrus. Verso blank. The notarial signature is the same as that to 55; both copies were, therefore, drawn up in the same office, but it should be noted that in this document the subscription is written in a different hand from that employed for the main body—which could be taken to indicate that it is the original. N.B. also Παήσιον in l. 7 (cf. 55, 6 and n.), and the apparent difference in the formulae at the beginning of the fragments. Even if the two fragments are not of the same guarantee, at least the guarantor is the same.

<sup>1</sup> μπ. [ ±30 ]      <sup>2</sup> γ. μετὰ π[άσης] ἐπιει[κε]ΐας καὶ [μὴ ἀ]πολιμπα[νό-]      <sup>3</sup> μενον·  
ἐὰν δὲ ἀφυστερήσῃ καὶ [μὴ] παραστ[ήσω],      <sup>4</sup> ἐγὼ αὐτ[ός] τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον  
ὑπόστησομαι]      <sup>5</sup> ἥ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ θείῳ ὄρκω καὶ τῷ περὶ τούτου      <sup>6</sup> κιν-  
δύνῳ, καὶ [έ]περ(ωτηθείς) ὀμολ(όγησα). (2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος      <sup>7</sup> Σόις Παήσιον ὁ  
προκείμενος ἐγγυ-      <sup>8</sup> ὀμε καὶ παραστήσω τὸ[ν] προκείμ[ενον].      <sup>9</sup> (3rd h.)  
δι' ἐμοῦ Σιλβανοῦ ἐγ[ράφη].

<sup>2</sup> μετὰ πάσης does not seem to be impossible.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπόστ.

<sup>7</sup> Σόις: There is a suggestion of a diaeresis, but one cannot be certain.

<sup>8</sup> l. -ώμαι.

**57.** 12·3 × 14·2 cm. Fourth century. Fragment of a lease, containing the last eleven lines, date, and signatures, and written in three hands; the first is a hurried but fluent cursive, the second very cramped, the third a notarial scrawl. On the recto of papyrus of fair quality which has been badly rubbed on the right-hand side. Verso blank.

<sup>1..[ ±25 ]</sup>      <sup>2</sup> ὡψ [ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίου ἀποτά]κτου σίτ[ο]ψ      <sup>3</sup> μὲν ἀρταβ[ῶν]  
ἔξ (?) ἡμίσο]υς ἀράκου δὲ ἀρταβῶν      <sup>4</sup> ἔξ ἡμίσους [(space)] οὖσπερ συνεγομένους  
φόρους      <sup>5</sup> μετρήσω ὑμῶν τῷ Ἐπείφ μηνὶ κατ' ἔτος      <sup>6</sup> ἀντιπερθέτως ἐν  
γένεσι νέοις καθαροῖς      <sup>7</sup> κεκοσκινευμένοις μέτρῳ Αθηναίω      <sup>8</sup> ἐφ' ἀλωνίω  
τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμης τῶν δημοσίων      <sup>9</sup> παντοίων τε χωμάτων ὄντων πρὸς ὑμ[ᾶς]  
τὸ τὰς γεούχους. ἡ μίσθωσις κυρία καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθείς) ὀμ(ολόγησα).      <sup>11</sup> Φαμενώθ  
λ. (space)      <sup>12</sup> (2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος Μάνος Παήσιον μεμίσθωμαὶ ὡς πρόκειται.  
Αὐρήλιος      <sup>13</sup> Σιλβανὸς Κοπρέου ἀξιωθείς ἐγρ(αψα) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γρ(άμματα) μὴ  
εἰδότος.      <sup>14</sup> δι' ἐμοῦ Σερήγηος ἐγρ(άφη).

<sup>3</sup> On ἀράκος see H. Zilliacus, *Late Byzantine Land-Leases from Hermopolis*, p. 8, 14 n.

<sup>4</sup> l. συνεγομένους.

<sup>10</sup> There is a small curved line over the sigma of τάς and the gamma of γεούχους, but there is no doubt about the alpha of τάς.

<sup>11</sup> A horizontal line after the lambda, the rest of the line being left blank.

<sup>12</sup> Μάνος: See H. C. Youtie in *TAPA* 89 (1958), p. 396, 85 n.

<sup>13</sup> A Silvanus is the notary responsible for 55 and 56, in which a Paesius again occurs; possibly these three fragments are from the same archive.

**58.** 12·4 × 13·6 cm. Fourth century. A small fragment of a deed of surety, its body written in two hands, both rough and rather careless, on the recto of papyrus of fair quality but badly damaged; the left margin has been rubbed away. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> ( ±10 ἐγγυᾶσθαι . [ ±10 ] φ[...]εν.γ      <sup>2</sup> [.....] ἐλκύσεσθαι ἀ[π]ό τοῦ ἐμ-  
βληθησομένου      <sup>3</sup> [.....]ερον· εἰ δὲ ἀπολειφθείη καὶ μὴ παραστή-      <sup>4</sup> σω,

έγώ αὐτὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον ὑποστήσομαι      <sup>5</sup> [κ]αὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι η̄ ἔνοχος  
 εἴην τῷ θείῳ      <sup>6</sup> ὅρκω καὶ τῷ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὀμολ(ό-  
 γησα).      <sup>7</sup> (2nd h.) [Α]ὐρήλιος Βίκτωρ Γεροντίου ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἔγγηῶμαι καὶ  
 παραστή-      <sup>8</sup> [σω] ω̄ς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Κάστωρ      <sup>9</sup> [.....] ἔγραψα  
 ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ] γράμμα-      <sup>10</sup> [τα μὴ εἰδότος.      <sup>11</sup> (3rd h.) δὶ' ἐμοῦ Εὐσεβίου  
 [...] [...] ἔγραψη.

<sup>1</sup> ερ. γ.: ? επεπ.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ: ? σου.

<sup>7</sup> l. ἔγγυῶμαι.

59. 8·7×9·7 cm. Late fourth century. Fragment of a lease, written on the recto of very light papyrus of fair quality which shows signs of having been folded small; there remain one small and three very small fragments, making up the bottom right-hand portion of the document. The first hand is written in lighter ink than the other two, which, unlike it, slope forward slightly and are less uniform, being cramped and hurried at the ends of the lines. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup>[ ]ρ[.]      <sup>2</sup>]π.ρ...ρ.ιφ. τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου      <sup>3</sup>] αὐτῆς ἐπεὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς  
 γεωργῆσαι      <sup>4</sup>] ἡμῶν τῆς παρ' ἔτη ἐν ἀποτάκτου      <sup>5</sup>[λόγῳ . . . νομισμάτια]  
 δύο παρὰ κεράτια δύο τῷ χρυσο-      <sup>6</sup>[χοικῷ σταθμῷ . . . ἀ]γαμφιλόγως. η̄ μίσθ(ω-  
 σις) κυρίᾳ καὶ      <sup>7</sup>[βεβαίᾳ . . . καὶ ἐπερω]τη(θεὶς) ὀμολ(όγησα). (2nd h.) μάρτυς  
 ὁ προκ(είμενος)      <sup>8</sup>[ . . . ω̄ς π]ρόκ(ειται). (3rd h.) Δε[....] διάκ(ονος) ὁ προ-  
 κ(είμενος) μεμείσθωμαι      <sup>9</sup>]ος 'Ιω[άννο]ψ ὁ προκ(είμενος) μεμίσθωμαι.      <sup>10</sup>]α.  
 [...]...] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων.]

<sup>3</sup> l. ἐπει.

<sup>5</sup> δ of second δύο corrected from τ.

<sup>8</sup> l. μεμίσθωμαι. Many proper names would fit the lacuna here.

<sup>9</sup> os a correction of ον; ιψ.

<sup>10</sup> ὑπερ.

60. 12·5×8·5 cm. Late fifth/early sixth century. Written on the recto of dark papyrus of poorish quality, lacking both left and right margins. The first hand is upright, regular, and almost certainly sixth-century with strong minuscule tendencies; the second is illiterate, the third a flowing cursive of the usual notarial type. The document is best dated in the early sixth century, but the late fifth is not impossible. It is too fragmentary to permit certainty as to the exact nature of the agreement of which it was part, but the general impression is of a lease of a vineyard, the payment of rent being in wine (cf. P. Cair. Masp. i. 67104; P. Ross.-Georg. iii. 51).

<sup>1</sup>]ς, γί(νεται) κοῦφ(a) φορ(ᾶς) β/ ιγ ἀπὸ Λ[ιτρῶν (?)]      <sup>2</sup>]ς ἔγώ σοι ἐπανάγκης [  
 3 τῆς σὺν]ν<sup>+</sup>Θ(ε)ῷ εἰσιούσης πεν[τεκαιδεκάτης ἵνδ(ικτίονος)]      <sup>4</sup>]τισας καὶ τὰς  
 ἐργα[σίας]      <sup>5</sup>]. ειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ω̄ς ε[      <sup>6</sup>] τῶν είκατὸν ἀγγίων [      <sup>7</sup> ἀναμ-  
 φι]βόλως καὶ ⟨ἀνευ⟩ ἀντιλογί(ας).+ἔγρ[άφη]      <sup>8</sup> (2nd h.) σ]τηχῆ μοι Ἀπολλως [  
 9 (3rd h.) δι<sup>2</sup>] ἐμοῦ Παθα.....ικτ...ομ[

<sup>1</sup> κοῦφ(a) φορ(ᾶς) κτλ.: κοῦφον is often used to describe a large measure of wine, something like a jar (W. Ost. i. 766; Reil, *Gewerbe*, pp. 38 f.); it is almost certainly so used here and not as an adjective with φορ(α), as in W. Chr. 291. 3; Ost. ii. 1483. 1 (cf. P. Oxy. xiv. 1631. 16 and n.). Similarly, φορά is not used in the sense established in Crum-Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, pp. 25 f., i.e. as *inter alia* a measure of capacity of some size possibly equivalent to a μέγα ('normally, but not always'); rather it has the sense of 'load' (see Crum-Bell, op. cit., pp. 105 ff., to which several examples may now be added, e.g. P. Harr. 93, *passim* and P. Mich. vi. 857. 1). Translate: '... total number of jars, of the second load, 13 . . .

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ Λ[ιτρῶν]: Cf. Krall, *Koptische Texte* v. 15, cited in Crum-Bell, op. cit., p. 25—'780 measures of 25 *litrae* each'.

<sup>2</sup> l. ἐπάναγκες.

<sup>3</sup> θ<sup>+</sup>ω probably, but the horizontal of the theta has been erased, and the omega is very indistinct.

<sup>6</sup> l. ἔκατὸν ἀγγίων: perhaps the 'hundred vessels' had been borrowed or were even the subjects of the lease.

<sup>8</sup> l. στοιχεῖ μοι, Απολλως? But there is a bad smudge after στηχη.

<sup>9</sup> Again a bad smudge after Παθα, and the traces left of the notarial signature cannot be reconciled with any of the normal formulae.

61. 7·5×12·3 cm. A.D. 470. Hermopolite nome. Fragment of agreement, written on papyrus of fair quality; only the head of the document remains, and even that is incomplete—how incomplete we cannot say with certainty, as we do not know exactly how much is missing from the left margin. There are indications that the papyrus was folded across several times. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> [ὑπατίας Φλ(αονίων) 'Ιορδάν]οι καὶ Σ[εο]υγρού [τ]ῶν λαμπρο(τάτων), Χοιὰκ ζ θ  
 ἱνδικ(τίονος).      <sup>2</sup> [ ±16 ]ννίου μητ(ρὸς) Στέφανοῦ καὶ Λουλοῦς ὁμογνήσιος  
 3 [ἀδελ(φὸς) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀμφό]τεροι ἀπὸ κώμης 'Ωρεως τοῦ μεγάλου 'Ερμου-      <sup>4</sup> [πολί-  
 του νομοῦ ἀλλὰ νῦν]γ διάγοντες ἐν κώμῃ Τελβώνθει τοῦ αὐτοῦ      <sup>5</sup> [νομοῦ Αὐρηλίω  
 Γ]ερμανῷ νῦν 'Ιουλίου ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως      <sup>6</sup> [ ±16 ]γρα.[

<sup>1</sup> For the dating see Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> The village Horis is not mentioned in Preisigke, *WB*, but Telbonthis is well known. The supplement here is adopted on the assumption that that in l. 1 is of the correct length.

62. 6·2×18·9 cm. Fifth century. Apparently part of a contract of division of property (see especially l. 6), though it might conceivably be a joint lease; at the beginning of the fragment, which has probably been broken off at the top, we are given the location of the plot and a summary of the amount of land involved, a very small amount, and these details are followed by the terms and conditions of tenure, which bear a clear

resemblance to those of a lease. The end of the contract is missing, and what remains is very difficult to read, written in a careless, irregular cursive on a piece of papyrus which has been folded several times and has not a few small holes in it. Across the fibres on the verso are the illegible traces of about ten letters, no doubt the conventional description of the document in summarized form. The restoration *Tρόματι* in l. 1 is by no means certain, but this may well be the name of one of the parties to the contract, perhaps a minor who is being represented (see l. 5). ὅργανον in ll. 2, 6 is not used here in the classical sense of 'machine (water, wood, oil, &c.)' but in the sense of 'plot' or 'field', familiar in later Byzantine papyri, e.g. P. Lond. v. 1690. 9; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67087. 13; iii. 67307. 4; 67319. 23 (all sixth century); see A. Calderini, 'Appunti di terminologia secondo i documenti dei papiri' in *Aegyptius* 1 (1920), pp. 309 ff. and especially 'ι, "Ὀργανον ε μηχανή".

<sup>1</sup> [ ±20 ]...[...] *Tρόματι* <sup>2</sup> .[...]..[.] ἐκ λιβός [τ]οῦ ὅργανον 'Ιωσῆφ *Βίκτωρ*, οὔτως· νότ(ον) <sup>3</sup> ὁδός, βορρᾶ ἐμοῦ *Ἀτενίου*, ἀπηλιώτου νός *Πλαθανί*, λιβός <sup>4</sup> *Παθωνίου* ἀδελ(φοῦ) ἡμῶν, ἢ οἷοι ἂν ὥσι γιτόνεις πάντη πάντοθεν, <sup>5</sup> γύ(νεται) (ἀρουρα) α(παρὰ) ἄμ(ματα) δ, ἵσον ἀρούρας, ἐκ βορρᾶ ἄνω ὑπὲρ *Τρόματος* <sup>6</sup> καὶ τὸ μέρος σου ἐν τῷ ὅργανον *Χορον*, ἐφ' ὧτε ἔκαστον <sup>7</sup> ἡμῶν κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ σπείριν καὶ θηρίον <sup>8</sup> η[...]κ[....].[ ±6 ].[ ±15 ].[...]

<sup>2</sup> ιωσῆφ; l. *Βίκτωρ*.  
<sup>3</sup> l. *Ἀτενίου*.  
<sup>4</sup> l. *γείτονες*.  
<sup>5</sup> ισον.  
<sup>6</sup> l. ὅργανω.  
<sup>7</sup> l. σπείριν, θηρίειν.

63. 12.1 × 20.5 cm. Fifth century. An agreement by which the contracting party is to abide by the award of an arbitrator or else pay certain penalties to the other party in restitution. The award seems to have involved four horses, perhaps the property or part of the property which had to be returned to the second party. Written in an untidy, straggling cursive, employing a thin pen and poor ink. The left margin is missing, probably up to one-third or even a half of the whole width; about one line is missing from the top. The verso is something of a puzzle: about five letters are clear, the remaining traces illegible; possibly it is an address or title, though the hand is certainly not that of the recto, being much firmer and almost upright with thicker strokes—the solitary letter in the first line, probably an office registration number, might well be by the same hand. The only other point of interest in the fragment is the use of the phrase *τὰ ἀπὸ διαιτης ποιῆσαι* (l. 4); the same phrase occurs in P. Oxy. viii. 1164. 9 and P. Grenf. ii. 99(a), 4 f. (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 3 (1906), p. 126 for an explanation of this document). In P. Oxy. 1164 δίαιτα must mean 'arbitration' and *τὰ ἀπὸ διαιτης ποιῆσαι* 'to put into effect the requirements of the arbitration', and the editor's translation and interpretation of P. Grenf. 99(a), 4 ff. ought to be amended

correspondingly. Here the lacuna at the beginning of l. 4 would have contained something like ὁμολογεῖ . . . ἐλθεῖν εἰς δίαιταν.

<sup>1</sup> ζ <sup>2</sup> ]ων ὁ μεγαλοπρεπ(έστατος) γνός Θωμᾶς καὶ Κολλούθου <sup>3</sup> ]. τὸν σοφώτ(ατον) σχολαστικὸν 'Ιωάννην <sup>4</sup> αια καὶ Π[α]κύστης 'Ισακίου' <sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ διαιτης ποιῆσαι· <sup>5</sup> ]εν ὁ μεγαλοπρε(πέστατος), ώς εἰ μὴ ἐμμείνη <sup>6</sup> ]. (space) ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ τὰ τέσσαρα <sup>7</sup> ] Κολλ[ού]θ[ω]ς κ[αὶ ως] εἰ μὴ ἐμμείνη <sup>8</sup> ]. ἵνα ἀποτάξῃ τῷ αὐτῷ <sup>9</sup> ] τὰ τέσσαρα ἵππαρια καὶ οῦτως <sup>10</sup> ]αὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξ(ιν).+

Verso: (2nd h.) <sup>11</sup> ..τοκαγαθ.. + παρὰ 'Ιωάννη[ον]

<sup>3</sup> ἰωάννη: The insertion was made between ll. 2 and 3 and above τὸν κτλ.  
<sup>5</sup> η of ἐμμείνη a correction.

<sup>9</sup> ἵππαρια.  
<sup>11</sup> First two letters perhaps ακ or ση; last eight very indistinct.

64. 11.7 × 30.1 cm. Fifth century. An acknowledgement of loan together with interest and security, written with thick pen, the ink being faded in places and smudged, on the recto of papyrus of fair quality; very little is actually missing, but what remains is not easy to read. On the verso are traces of about a dozen letters, which are mostly illegible and at best uncertain but are in the same hand as that on the recto. Note the use of diaeresis, which is extensive, and the fact that the amount received by Eusebius was in fact three solidi.

<sup>1</sup> θβ ἔχω ἐγὼ *Εὐσέβιος* νός τοῦ μακαρίου 'Ιακώβ εἰς ἐμὴν χρίαν [ἰδίαν (?)] <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀναγκέαν χρισθὲν νομισμάτια τέσσερα παρ[ά] κεράτι- <sup>3</sup> α ἔξ ἔκαστον, γύ(νεται) χρισθὲν νο(μισμάτια) δ π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) κδ· ἔχις δὲ καὶ σὺ λόγου ἐνεχύρου ἐν[ώ]- <sup>4</sup> τιν σὸν πιναρίων ιθ νο(μισμάτια) δ 'καὶ χαλκὶν ἐν· ἔδοξεν δὲ λόγου πα'ρα'μιθ'α's αὐτῶν τοῦ [ἐνι-] <sup>5</sup> αντοῦ κεράτι(α) ἔξ ἡμισον τέταρτον, γύ(νεται) κ(εράτια) ἔξ δ'. <sup>6</sup> [ ±12 *Εὐσέβιος* 'νός' 'Ιακώβ στυχῖ μοι πάντα ώς [πρό- κ(ειται) ±7] <sup>7</sup> [ ±15 ]χίνου ἐν. *Εὐσέβιος* στυχῖ μοι θ[....].[...].[...].[...]

Verso: <sup>8</sup> πάγτον ιδίον *Εὐσέβιον* (?)

<sup>1</sup> The beta is certain but the theta could also be a beta; ζθ cannot be read (= 99, for ἀμήν, sometimes found at the beginning of Christian letters). We cannot be certain that a line is not missing, *ενσεβις* (cf. 7), ιος, μακαριον, ιακωβ (cf. 6); l. νιός, χρείαν.

<sup>2</sup> l. ἀναγκαῖαν χρισθὲν; νομισματία.  
<sup>3</sup> l. χρισθὲν, ἔχεις, λόγω.  
<sup>4</sup> 3, 4 l. ἐνότιον but ἐνετήν is also possible.  
<sup>5</sup> 4 l. πιναρίος; l. χαλκὸν ορ χαλκίνον (cf. 7)? l. λόγω παραμυθίας; ιθ, πα'ρα'μιθ'α's.  
<sup>6</sup> 5 κεράτι, ημισον; l. ἡμισον.  
<sup>7</sup> 6, 7 l. Εὐσέβιος.  
<sup>8</sup> 7 l. [χαλ]κίνου ἐνός; στυχῖ, l. στοιχεῖ; μοι.

65. 23·2 x 16·5 cm. A.D. 553. Hermopolite nome. A loan of money on security, written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality in an upright, regular hand; the ink has faded badly in places and, though the four pieces into which the papyrus has disintegrated represent about a half of the original document, what remains is sorely damaged, and there is much missing from the right margin and the foot. The verso has traces of the title in a second hand. The supplements are *exempli gratia*.

<sup>1</sup> χμγ. <sup>2</sup> Βασιλείας τοῦ [θειοτά]του ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαονίου 'Ιο[υστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰώνιου Αύγουστου καὶ Αὐτοῦ] <sup>3</sup> κράτορος ἔτους ε[ἰκοστοῦ ἑβδό]μοι μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αονίου) Β[ασιλίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἔτους] <sup>4</sup> τρεισκαιδεκ[άτου] Φαῶ- φι εἴκοστη πέμπτης [...] ..[<sup>5</sup> Άνρηλιος Άνοιφιος νὺὸς Βάνου μ(ητρὸς) Δώρας γεωργὸς ἀπὸ κώμης Ποαμποιμήνεως τοῦ] <sup>6</sup> 'Ερμονπολίτου νομοῦ Φλανίω Βαθύλω .....[<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἵλογοντρίω [νιὼ τοῦ θ]εοφιλεστάτου Αββᾶ Αδ. [<sup>8</sup> δ(ιὰ) τοῦ θαμαστ[ωτάτο]υ [Τ]ωάνου ὑμετέρου προνοη[τοῦ χαίρειν. δμολογῶ ὄφειλειν καὶ] <sup>9</sup> χρεωστεῖν ὑπὲρ [...]δ.. ἐκφορίων καρπῶν [<sup>10</sup> τοῦτ' ἔστιν. [ἀ]πὸ τῆς ἐννάτης ἵδικτίονος τ. [<sup>11</sup> χρυσοῦ γομισματίων πέντε παρὰ κεράτια δέκα ὁκτὼ ζυγῷ δημοσίω τῆς μεγάλης καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ερμον-] <sup>12</sup> πόλεως, γύ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια ε π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) ιη'' ἀπέρ σοι ἀποδώσω .[ . . . ἀνευ πάσης ὑπερ-] <sup>13</sup> θέσεως καὶ ἀντιλογίας καὶ κρίσεως καὶ δίκη[ς, καὶ ὑπὲρ πίστεως καὶ ἀσφαλείας τῆς] <sup>14</sup> τούτων ἀποδόσεως ἐντεῦθεν ἥδη ὑποτίθημ[σοι . . . ἀπαντα τὰ ὑπάρ-] <sup>15</sup> χοντά μοι καὶ ὑπάρξοντα πράγματα κινητά τε καὶ ἀ[κίνητα καὶ αὐτοκίνητα . . .] <sup>16</sup> καὶ σώματ[α . . .]χον . . .[. . .]ετια[<sup>17</sup> [. . .]....[ Verso (2nd h.) <sup>18</sup> νἱοῦ Βάνου γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Πο[αμ]ποιμ(ήνεως) τοῦ 'Ερ- (μουπολίτου) <sup>19</sup> (possibly a continuation of the title, indicated by a few very faint traces, which may be smudges.)

<sup>5</sup> [Ποαμποιμήνεως]: See 18 n. below.

<sup>9</sup> ἐκφορίων καρπῶν: Cf. P. Flor. i. 94. 7, where also the preceding word is illegible, ending in -os. The word missing here could conceivably be [ει]δῶν.

<sup>18</sup> Πο[αμ]ποιμ(ήνεως): Cf. P. Stud. xx. 83. 24, also Hermopolite. Also possible is Πε[ρὶ] Ποιμ(ένων), Hermopolite in P. Strassb. 2. 6; 19. 8, 15, but said to be Heracleopolite in W. Ost. ii. 1108; Ποιμένων is so in P. Stud. xx. 148 but Ποιμένων μερίς is Hermopolite in P. Cair. Preis. 29. 4. The better reading is printed here.

66. 15·2 x 11·9 cm. Hermopolite nome. Sixth century. A small fragment of a contract, apparently a *Teilpacht* of a vineyard, written in a clear, sloping hand, the ink having faded in places, on the recto of papyrus of quite good quality. We have here only the right-hand portion of the middle of the document, and it is probable that about forty to fifty letters are missing from the left-hand side of the lines. The supplements are *exempli gratia*. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> ].[.].[.] β, ε ἡδ(ικτίονος) <sup>2</sup> ]ι γονμερ(αρίω) ἀριθμοῦ τῶν <sup>3</sup> [ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ερ-

μονπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων γενναιοτάτων Μ]αύρων π(αρὰ) Βίκτορος <sup>4</sup>]εως τοῦ 'Ερμονπολίτου νομοῦ. <sup>5</sup> [βούλομαι ἐκονσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως μισθώσθασθαι παρὰ τῆς σῆς] θαυμασιότητος <sup>6</sup> [ πρὸς . . . χρόνον λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς π]αρούσης πέμπτης ἵδικτίονος) <sup>7</sup> ἀ]μπελικῶν <sup>8</sup> ].η. [διακ]ειμένας περὶ πρακτορίαν <sup>9</sup> [. . . μετὰ τῶν] ἡμετέρων βοικῶν ζώων <sup>10</sup> ]ε τὸ προειρη- μένον ἡμισυ <sup>11</sup> ]σειμω.. δεύτερον τοῦ μηρὸς <sup>12</sup> [. . . τὸ δ]ε [ἄλλ]ο ἡμισυ μέρος <sup>13</sup> ] ἐπ[.] τοῦ ἀμπελουργοῦ <sup>14</sup> ]...[.....]

<sup>3</sup> For this ἀριθμός cf. 37, 5 n.

<sup>8</sup> περὶ πρακτορίαν: Cf. 22, 11; an iota could not be read instead of the kappa here.

<sup>10</sup> ]ε: Possibly ἐφ' φτε, though, as we do not know what went before, σε or ἐμέ might be considered also.

<sup>11</sup> σειμω..: We should expect some reference to irrigation at this point, but it is difficult to restore the beginning of line so as to fit in with δεύτερον τοῦ μηρός.

67. 19·4 x 20·1 cm. Sixth century. Written on the recto of light-coloured papyrus of poorish quality; ink rather faded and sometimes difficult to read; several folds and worm-holes. There is a good deal missing from the left margin, though it is impossible to say exactly how much. Verso blank. The papyrus is clearly a contract of sale of an orchard, followed by a guarantee commencing at the point where the fragment breaks off, but there can be no certainty; nor would any useful purpose be served by attempting to fill in the left-hand side.

<sup>1</sup> ]ωντα[.....]...[ ±10 ] <sup>2</sup> ].[.]ωτάτω [νἱ]ῳ τοῦ τῆς [ἀρ]ίστης μ[η]μης <sup>3</sup> π]ρὸς τὰ ἔξῆς ὑποτεταγμένα κατὰ τὰ ἐπισταλέντα <sup>4</sup> ]τοῦ ἐπιστάλματος ἀπε- κούνφια 'Ηρακλάμμων <sup>5</sup> διατε]θεισῶν αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀρουρῶν <sup>6</sup> ]ασίου καὶ παντὸς δικαίου διακειμένων <sup>7</sup> ἐν τῷ] γεωργίᾳ καλουμένῳ τοῦ νιοῦ Άδωρᾶς <sup>8</sup> ] σίτους καθαροῦ σὺν ναύλοις καὶ ἔκατοσταῖς <sup>9</sup> τῷ] γρυσικῶν τίτλων χρυσοῦ κεράτια <sup>10</sup> πεντ]εκαιδεκά[τη]ς ἵδικτίονος) καὶ αὐτῆς ἐφεξῆς <sup>11</sup> ] σιτικήν τε καὶ χρυσικήν ἐπέβαλα <sup>12</sup> ].αις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν <sup>13</sup> ]γων καὶ ὁ δημόσιος λόγος δι' ἐμοῦ <sup>14</sup> τῆς] αὐτῆς δημοσίας συντελείας σιτικῆς τε <sup>15</sup> [καὶ χρυσικῆς . . .] καὶ διακατόχους· καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχω <sup>16</sup> τῆς] μερ[έ]δος ἀρκεισθῆναι τῇ αὐτῇ <sup>17</sup> ]ισεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πομαρίο]υ <sup>18</sup> διὰ τοῦ παντὸς εἰς τὸ π]αγατέλες· εἰς γάρ ὑμετέραν ἀσφάλειαν <sup>19</sup> [πεποίημαι . . .].[...]±6 ]

3, 12, 17 Ⅵ.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπεκούνφια: Cf. WB IV. i, s.v.

<sup>6</sup> διπλ]ασίου (?): The following word is certainly not μετ..

<sup>7</sup> Άδωρᾶς: Not in the *Namenbuch*, this name occurs frequently in P. Cair. Isid.; here it has two horizontal strokes above it—αδωρᾶς.

<sup>11</sup> l. ἐπέβαλον.

<sup>16</sup> l. ἀρκεισθῆναι.

<sup>17</sup> l. πωμαρίου.

(d) RECEIPTS, ACCOUNTS, ORDERS FOR PAYMENT  
(68-85)

68.  $28.1 \times 12.3$  cm. Late fourth century. An account of corn written in a practised hand on the recto of papyrus of fair quality; if the suggested reading in l. 11 is correct, it would follow that it is an account of a *pittacium* which comes after it. Most of the names are familiar. Verso blank; head of papyrus incomplete.

<sup>1</sup> Σοφ[ ±8 ]ος [ <sup>2</sup> Ἀμῦνις Φιβίου (ἀρτάβαι) γ <sup>3</sup> Τιμό[θ]εος κωμάρχ(ης) (ἀρτ.) <sup>5</sup> <sup>4</sup> Τιμόθεος κωμάρχ(ης) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) ε <sup>5</sup> Τιμόθεος κωμάρχ(ης) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) κξ <sup>6</sup> Ἀπα .. γητωρ πρεσβύτερ(ος) (ἀρτ.) [ <sup>7</sup> Τιμόθεος κωμάρχ(ης) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) [ <sup>8</sup> "Ισακος 'Ιωάννου (ἀρτ.) [ <sup>9</sup> Τιμόθεος κωμάρχ(ης) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) [ <sup>10</sup> Τιμόθεος κωμ[άρχ(ης) δ]μοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) [ (space of five lines) <sup>11</sup> κεφ(αλαιωτής) Ἀπολ( ) 'Ερμῆτος (ἀρτ.) β <sup>12</sup> Πέτρος 'Ι[σ]ακίου (ἀρτ.) [.] <sup>13</sup> Ἀπολλ( ) διακόνου (ἀρτ.) βδ' <sup>14</sup> Πέτρος κωμάρχ(ης) (ἀρτ.) <sup>15</sup> Ταυρῖνος Τάρωνος (ἀρτ.) Λγυβ <sup>16</sup> Ανοῦφις Ἀπολ( ) (ἀρτ.) βδ' <sup>17</sup> Πέτρος κωμάρχ(ης) (ἀρτ.) ει' <sup>18</sup> Πέτρος κωμάρχ(ης) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτ.) α ιο <sup>19</sup> Αβράμ(ιος) 'Ερμῆτος (ἀρτ.) Λ'' <sup>20</sup> "Ισακος 'Ιωάννου (ἀρτ.) α <sup>21</sup> Βίκτωρ Τάρωνος (ἀρτ.) γλ' <sup>22</sup> Πέτρος κωμάρχ(ης) (ἀρτ.) γλ'γ'' <sup>23</sup> Ἡλίας διακόνου (ἀρτ.) .ζ <sup>24</sup> Πέτρος κωμάρχ(ης) (ἀρτ.) ad'.

<sup>1</sup> Σοφ: The phi is reasonably certain, and kappa is not possible; it looks as if there was a short name, followed by a genitive or a title of an official.

<sup>2</sup> I. Αμονίης.

<sup>6</sup> ..γητωρ: The eta is a good reading, and kappa does not seem possible, unless it is very different from, for example, that in l. 21.

<sup>11</sup> κεφ(αλαιωτής): Cf. O. Mich. ii, 937. 2; 942. 1; iii, 1052. 4; 1071. 2; 1094. 1; in these the letters are written closely together, so that the kappa is almost obscured, as it would have to be here also.

<sup>13, 23</sup> I. διακόνος? This is not very satisfactory, as the writer is not normally given to such mistakes. Perhaps it would be better to read Διακόνου, and assume that it is another form of the proper name Διάκων, genitive Διάκονος.

69.  $29.2 \times 15.5$  cm. A.D. 412. Hermopolis. A receipt with guarantee given to an *ex-defensor* by an official calling himself an *archipotamites* and written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality. The traces on the verso, which are indistinct against a discoloured background, may well be in the same hand writing more hurriedly and carelessly. For the dating see Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari*, p. 87.

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν 'Ονωρίου <sup>2</sup> τὸ η καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ γ'' τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων, Παχῶν ι. <sup>3</sup> Φλαγεώ 'Ερμαίων τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀπὸ δηγηνόστρων <sup>4</sup> ἐπικειμένῳ τῇ κρηπῖδι περὶ Κλεοπάτρας <sup>5</sup> π(αρά) Αὐρηλίου Σύρου Ἀντάτος μη(τρὸς) Ταβώνιος ώς (ἐτῶν) νε <sup>6</sup> οὐλὴ δακτύλω λιχανῶ

## RECEIPTS, ACCOUNTS, ORDERS FOR PAYMENT (68-85) 99

ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ἀρχιποτα- <sup>7</sup> μίτου καταμένοντος ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ.  
8 ὁμολογῶ πεπληρώσθαι παρὰ σφῦ τῶν μισθῶν <sup>9</sup> ναυβίων χειλίων πεντήκοντα πέντε 'ῆμισυ' ἔως <sup>10</sup> Παχῶν δεκάτης ὄγδόης ὥδικ(τίονος) ἐπι.... <sup>11</sup> αν Ἀβανῆ (?) εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κρηπῖδα, καὶ πρὸς <sup>12</sup> ἀσφάλειάν σου ἐξεδόμην σοι ταύτην τὴν <sup>13</sup> [δ]μολογίαν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. <sup>14</sup> Αὐρήλιος Σύρος Ἀντάτος ὁ προκείμενος <sup>15</sup> ποταμίτης ἐξέδωκα τὴν ὁμολογίαν πλη- <sup>16</sup> ρωθεῖς τῶν μισθῶν τῶν προκειμένων ναυβίων <sup>17</sup> χειλίων πεντήκοντα πέντε (ῆμισυ) ὡς πρόκειται. <sup>18</sup> Αὐρήλιο[ς ...].. ἀδελφὸς Βησσαρίωνος ἔγραψα <sup>19</sup> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματ[α] μὴ εἰδότος καὶ <sup>20</sup> δι' ἐμοῦ .α.... ἐγράφη.  
Verso: <sup>21</sup> ὁμολογία Σύρου ἀρχιπ[ο]ταμ[ίτ]ον ..... τῶν μισθῶν ναυβίων, ανεξ''' ἔως Παχῶν η ὥδικ(τίονος).

<sup>3</sup> 1. Φλανίω.

<sup>4</sup> 1. Κλεοπάτραν? Or should some word like χωρίον be supplied?

<sup>9, 17</sup> 1. χειλῶν.

<sup>11</sup> αν Ἀβανῆ (?): The first two alphas could be epsilon. Both the beginning of this line and the end of the previous one are puzzling.

<sup>15</sup> 1. ὁμολογίαν.

<sup>19</sup> καὶ is reasonably certain but rather unusual.

70.  $9.3 \times 30.5$  cm. Early fifth century. A receipt issued by the *optio* John to the *actuarius* Herminius for payments which the latter has made on behalf of other persons, and written in an untidy hand (the same as 71), lapsing frequently into a scrawl, across the fibres on papyrus of poor quality; the papyrus has broken into two pieces containing several holes and badly rubbed in places. Verso blank. Its classification as a receipt is not beyond dispute: the *λογίζομαι*-formula is not particularly common in receipts of this period, and the verb itself could be rendered 'pay to' (WB, s.v. 2) instead of 'set to the credit of' (LSJ, s.v. i. 3). Added to this is the natural ambiguity of the noun *ἐντάγιον*, on which see H. I. Bell, 'The Arabic Bilingual Entagion' in *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 89 (1945), pp. 530 ff. But one is inclined, nevertheless, to take the document as a receipt.

It is interesting to note that the John who wrote this receipt as an *optio* to an *actuarius* also wrote, in the same induction, a receipt to a *hypodectes* (71) but this time as an *actuarius* himself; the second document is the later of the two, so that we may infer that John had in the meantime been promoted from *optio* to *actuarius* (cf. the order to supply (39) made out to an *optio* by an *actuarius* John in the same period but not by the same hand). There can be no question, therefore, that J. Maspero, *L'organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 105, is wrong in identifying the *optio* with the *actuarius*, and that Seeck, *RE*, s.v. *actuarius* is right in seeing both as military officials, a view accepted by L. Wenger *ad P. Mon. i. 1. 60* and reinforced by the fact that WB fails to produce one single instance where the offices are not clearly



related to military administration. However, F. Lammert (*RE* xviii. 1. 810, s.v. *optio*) carefully distinguishes between the two officials on grounds of function, not of rank: the *actuarius*, a 'Q' officer in our terminology, was nearer to civilian status and, on laying down office, expected advancement in the civil service, while the *optio*, an 'A' officer, remained a *principalis*, responsible *inter alia* for that part of the military administration concerned primarily with relations with the civil population, e.g. matters affecting commissariat, like the *annona*. But the present receipt, taken in conjunction with 71, shows that, even if it meant a slight change of function and a step nearer civilian life, an *optio* could become an *actuarius*, probably as a promotion, thus confirming Seeck's view that the *actuarii*, though originally chosen from the soldiers themselves, were usually selected from the *principales* ('aus den *equites legionis*, *CIL* viii. 2663; aus den *optiones*, *CIL* viii. 2554'). But whether Seeck is also right in describing them as civil officials in the fourth century—still subordinate to the *magistri militum*, however—is, as we have seen, more doubtful; it depends where one draws the exact line between a military officer who deals with civilians and a civilian official who works with the Army. See now R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 71 f.

<sup>1</sup> κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ Ἐρμῖνος ἀκτοάριος Ἰωάννης ὅπτι(ων) λογίζομαι σοι ὑπὲρ δευτέρου προστάγματος δεκάτης ἵνδικ(τίονος) δ(ιὰ) Φοι(βάμμων) Κολλούθου Προούτως καὶ τῶν υἱῶν      <sup>3</sup> χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ὀκτὼ παρὰ κεράτια ὀκτὼ καὶ ὑπ(έρ) τῶν ἀπαιτητῶν χρυσοῦ      <sup>4</sup> γομισμάτιον ἐν παρὰ κεράτια τέσσαρα, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) θ π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) ιβ μόνα. Φλ(αούνος) Ἰωάννης      <sup>5</sup> ὁπ[τ]ί(ων), συμφωνή μοι τὸ ἐντάγματον γ[ο]μισμάτιων ἔ[ν]γέα παρὰ κεράτια      <sup>6</sup> δώδεκα ὡς πρόκ(ειται), Φαῶφι λι ἵνδικτίον(ος).

<sup>1</sup> l. 'Ερμίνω ἀκτοναρίῳ; ἰωαννης.

<sup>2</sup> l. Προούτος; υἱων'.

<sup>3</sup> ὕ; cf. 71, 2.

<sup>4</sup> l. συμφωνέ.

<sup>6</sup> l. ἵνδικτίον? It is hard to say how far the final flourish extended.

71. 9·6×28·8 cm. Early fifth century. A receipt issued by the same John who issues 70 as an *optio*; he is now an *actuarius* (see 70, Introd.). The hand is the same, and the papyrus of the same poorish quality and texture, though the ink is fainter. The left margin has been damaged. The epitome on the verso is in a second hand, upright and better formed.

<sup>1</sup> κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ὑποδέκ(τη) Ἰωάννης ἀκτούριος λογίζομαι σοι ὑπὲρ <sup>2</sup> [τ]ετράτου προστάγματος δεκά[τη]ης ἵνδικ(τίονος) ὑπ(έρ) ἀπαιτ(ητοῦ) Καλεινίκου δ(ιὰ) Φοι(βάμμων) προκ(ουράτορος)      <sup>3</sup> [χρυσοῦ νομισμάτη]α εἴκοσι δύο εὐσταθ(μα), γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) κβ εὐσταθ(μα) μ(όνα). Φλ(αούνος) Ἰωάννης      <sup>4</sup> [ἀκ]-

τονάριος συμφωνή μοι τὸ ἐντάγματον νομισμάτων εἴκοσι δύο εὐστάθ(μων) ὡς πρόκ(ειται),      <sup>5</sup> [Πα]χώρι κζι ἵνδικ(τίονος).

Verso: (2nd h.) <sup>6</sup> Ἰωάννης ἀκτούριος ὑπὲρ τετάρτου προστ(άγματος) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) κβ εὔσταθ(μα).

<sup>1</sup>, 3 ἰωαννης.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερ; l. ἀδελφῷ.

<sup>2</sup> ὕ; l. Καλεινίκου (cf. 49, 6).

<sup>4</sup> l. συμφωνέ.

<sup>5</sup> υ· run together, thus giving the illusion that the induction number is missing.

72. Fr. (a) 6·9×10 cm.; (b) 6·5×10·5 cm. Fifth century. Receipt for *adaeratio* written in an untidy and irregular cursive on the recto of papyrus of poor quality; the two fragments are separated by a lacuna of about two words (eight to ten letters). Across the middle of the verso of fr. (a) is a darker patch which appears to have contained some writing: towards the right margin *ΤΙ Ν Β* (cf. l. 5) could just possibly be read but nothing else before or after it.

<sup>1</sup> Φ κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ Ἰωάννη Σ[.....] χαρτ(ονλάριος)]. λογίζομαι σοι ὑπὲρ πρώτου προστάγματος σίτου ἐν ἔξαργυρισμῷ(ῷ) δ(ιὰ) Γ]εροντίω χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια      <sup>3</sup> εἴκοσι ἔξ εὐσταθ(μα), γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) κς [εὐσταθ(μα) · · · · ·] χαρτ(ονλάριος), συμφ(ωνεῖ) τῶν νομισμάτων      <sup>4</sup> εἴκοσι ἔξ εὐστ(άθμων) ὡς πρόκ(ειται) · ὁμοί(ως) δ(ιὰ) [..... χρ(υσοῦ)] γομισμάτια εἴκοσι ἔξ παρὰ κεράτια      <sup>5</sup> τέσσαρα ἥμισυ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) νβ π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) [δ (ἥμισυ) · ἐσημει]ώθη "ιβ" ἵνδικ(τίονος).+

<sup>1</sup> ἰωαννη, υπερ. The sigma after ἰωαννη is by no means clear.

<sup>2</sup> l. Γ]εροντίω: One cannot avoid the assumption of a grammatical error here, as it is hard to see how a dative would fit. On ἔξαργυρισμός see 81, Introd.

<sup>3</sup> l. τὰ νομισμάτια: The tau of τῶν has been written over a circular letter, perhaps omicron or phi.

<sup>5</sup> ιβ"ινδᾶ: The supplement here, as in the other lines, will depend on the size of the lacuna, which we have no means of estimating. The insertion of δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ, certainly of δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου, might make the lacuna too large.

73. 4·9×21·7 cm. Fifth century. Order for payment, of which only the first two lines are legible, the third having been almost entirely rubbed away—there were probably four lines originally. Written on the recto of papyrus of fair quality by the same hand as the first hand of 74, but in darker ink and with a thicker pen. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἀκ(τοναρίῳ) Ἐρμαίων · παράσχου Μαρτύρις      <sup>2</sup> Ἰωση- φίου καὶ Δωράνις Στεφάνου κριθῶν μοδίους ἔκατὸν      <sup>3</sup> [δέ]κα τέσσαρες, γί(νονται) (illegible traces)

<sup>1</sup> ερμαίων; l. Μαρτυρίω.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰωσηφίου; l. Δωρανίῳ (?).

74. 6·8×15 cm. Fifth century. Order for payment, a crumpled and mutilated fragment written in two fifth-century hands, both very cursive, the second also much faded and bigger; on the recto of papyrus of poor quality. Verso blank, the black stains on it probably representing smudges rather than traces of letters which have disappeared. 73 is another order for payment which involves Artemidorus and Hermaeon and is written in the first of the two hands found here.

+

<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἀκ(τονάριῳ)      <sup>2</sup> Ἐρμαίων· παράσχον ἄφους Ταυρ(ίνου)  
καὶ Ταυρίνος ἀδελφ(ὸς)      <sup>3</sup> κριθῶν ἀρταβῶν δέκα ὅκτὼ ἥμισυ, γί(νονται) η(ήμισυ)  
μό(ναι)      <sup>4</sup> ἀκτ( ) + + +      <sup>5</sup> (2nd h.) Φλ(άονιος). Ἀρτεμιδώρ(ος)  
ἀκ(τονάριος) στοιχῖ μοι ...[

<sup>2</sup> ερμαῖων.

1. Ἀφοῦτι Ταυρ(ίνου) καὶ Ταυρίνῳ ἀδελφ(ῷ), but Ἀφοῦτι ταυρ(ελάτη) is also possible. There is a suggestion of a mu beneath the alpha of αφούς.

4 The three crosses (cf. 34, 32 n.) are beyond doubt, but the preceding traces are very puzzling, and there is even a possibility that there were other letters before them. The whole is almost an interlinear insertion.

5 l. στοιχεῖ.

75. 6·5×30·4 cm. Fifth century. A receipt written on the recto of papyrus of fairish quality; ink much darker in the last line, and writing very compressed there. The lower margin is badly rubbed. Verso blank except for trace of one letter, possibly kappa. Herminus, an *actuarius*, is issued with a receipt in 70; if this were the same man, the remarks made in the Introd. there about the promotion of John would also apply to Herminus, but the name is not uncommon.

<sup>1</sup> κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἐρμίνῳ ὀπτί(ων) ·Ωρογνῶχις Δανιηλίου ἀπὸ πριμικ(ηρίων)·  
ἔδεξάμην δόμοι[ως]      <sup>2</sup> παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ναύλου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πλήσιου ὑπὲρ ἀγραρ(ίας)  
Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ ἐμοῦ νιόν ἀπὸ      <sup>3</sup> νομισματίων τριῶν νομισμάτια ἐν ἥμισυ παρὰ  
κεράτια τέσσαρα ἥμισυ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) γο(μισμάτια) [α (ἥμισυ)]      <sup>4</sup> παρ(ὰ)  
κερ(άτια) δ (ἥμισυ?). ·Ωρο[νῶχι]ς [Δανιηλ]ίῳ ἀπὸ πριμικ(ηρίων) στεχῖ μοι ὡς πρό-  
κ(ενται) γο(μισμάτια) φ (ἥμισυ?) π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) ...[.].....

1 Δανιηλίου: The ον has been corrected from omega.

2 ὑπερ twice; νιόν.

1. πλοίον; for ἀγραρ( ) cf. P. Lond. v. 1889 A 12; P. Cair. Masp. i. 67009 i. 21; 67022 i. 8.

4 l. στοιχεῖ; all after μοι is largely the result of conjecture.

76. 7·3×19·7 cm. Fifth century. Written in two hands, the first sloping, regular, distinct, the second upright, less practised, rather cramped, on the recto of papyrus of poor quality containing several small holes and with about one-third to a half missing from the right-hand side. Verso blank. The mutilation of the right margin has robbed

us of some key words, but the document is almost certainly an order for payment; this view is supported by the fact that it begins with a dative and by the occurrence of ἀπὸ τῆς λοι[πάδος] in l. 3. Phoebammon is a common enough name to justify our supposing that one Phoebammon issued the order to another.

<sup>1</sup> π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμων<sup>2</sup> Φ Φοιβάμμων προνοητ(ῆ) ἐποικ(ίου) Ἐρμοδώρου [  
<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ Πλειοῦτος νιόν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς δευτέρας ἵνδ(ικτίονος) ἀπὸ τῆς λοι[πάδος] <sup>4</sup> χρυσοῦ  
νομισμάτια δέκα ἐπτὰ καὶ κεράτια δέκα τέσσαρα ἥμισυ <sup>5</sup> ἐγράφη Ἄθυρ κδ β  
ἵνδ(ικτίονος).+ (2nd h.) σεσημείωμαι χρυσοῦ νομ(ισμάτια) δέκα ἐπ[τὰ κτλ].

3 ὑπερ; ἐποικιον is clearly a 'holding' or 'estate' here, not a 'hamlet'.

Πλειοῦτος: A possible name, though not, so far as we are aware, attested elsewhere; Πλειοῦτος (genitive of Πλειοῦς) occurs in W. Ost. 991. 4; O. Theb. 146. 3.

77. 13·9×30·7 cm. Fifth century. Oxyrhynchite nome (?). Receipt for *embole* written in a large, straggling hand, almost certainly fifth-century, on the recto of papyrus of very poor quality, badly discoloured with faded ink. Verso blank. There are two payments, the first in σῖτος καθαρός for the fifth induction, the second in σῖτος ῥυπαρός for the previous, i.e. fourth, induction and so probably of arrears. A village Nice is known from several papyri from Oxyrhynchus: in P. Oxy. xvi. 2034 (6th cent.) a προνοητής Νίκης appears in a list along with those of other 'Apion villages', and in 1986 (A.D. 549) an Apollos son of Apa Nacius writes the signatures to a receipt from two men ἀπὸ κτήματος Νίκης probably to Apion (cf. P. Oxy. xvi. 2035. 22; SB i, 1945, 16; &c.). But the name Νίκη is not uncommon.

<sup>1</sup> +ἐμέτρησεν Ἀπολλώς προ(νοητής) Νίκης (ὑπὲρ) ἐμβολ(ῆς) ε ἵνδ(ικτίονος) <sup>2</sup> σῖτ(ον)  
καθ(αροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δριδ μ(όνας), τετρακισχιλίας ἔκατὸν <sup>3</sup> δέκα τέσσερα μ(όνας),  
καὶ (ὑπὲρ) δ ἵνδ(ικτίονος) σί(του) ρ(υπαροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ρλ'', ἔκατὸν <sup>4</sup> τριάκοντα  
μ(όνας)· μηνὶ Τύβι δ ἵψδ(ικτίονος) ε, δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου.+

3 l. τεσσέρας.

78. 8·2×22·2 cm. Late fifth/early sixth century. A receipt for *capitum*, written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality in a hand which displays decided minuscule features and is possibly sixth-century; ink faded, some of both vertical margins missing, verso blank. For the *capitum* see 39, 2 n., in which it denotes a daily allowance in kind; here it is treated as an allowance in money for the whole induction. Justinian fixed the annual value of the *capitum* for the diocese of Africa at four *solidi* in A.D. 534 (C.J. i. 27. 1), but Johnson and West are clearly right in regarding it as a variable quantity in Egypt, though this document could well be about the same date as Justinian's law.

<sup>1</sup>] π(αρὰ) 'Φλ(άονιον)' Γερόγντιος Δωγάτου στρ(ατιώτου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. [ <sup>2</sup> [λογί-  
ζομαί σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ καπιτοῦ ἐβδό]μης ἵνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο παρὰ κεράτια

δύο, γύ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) [ν]ο(μισμάτια) β π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) [β]      <sup>3</sup>] σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
καπιτοῦ ζ ἵδικ(τίονος). Φλ(άνους) Γερόντιος Δωράτου συμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι      <sup>4</sup> χρυσοῦ  
νομισμάτια] δύο παρὰ κεράτι[α] δ[υ]ο, Θώθ ζ, ζ ἵδικ(τίονος).

<sup>1</sup> The name of the addressee, &c., would appear in the lacuna, so that we must assume that much is missing, perhaps half of the line.

Γερόντιος: I. Γερόντιον.

<sup>2</sup> The supplement at the beginning of the line is *exempli gratia*; there can be very little missing from the end. *ινδικη*.

<sup>3</sup> σοι: This is strange, as there is no suggestion of two separate items; perhaps the sense of the lacuna is something like 'apart from what I have previously credited.'

<sup>3, 4</sup> ἵδικη.

**79.** 16·1 × 13·3 cm. Hermopolis. A.D. 538. A receipt made out by a soldier to an *optio*, both belonging to the *numerus* of the γενναιόταροι Μάνοι stationed at Hermopolis (cf. 37, Introd. and 5 n.); dated after the consulship of Flavius John, it is written in a smallish, upright, and practised hand on the recto of papyrus of poor quality, badly mutilated and with most of its left margin missing by the time one reaches the foot. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> χμγ      <sup>2</sup> [μετὰ τὴν ν]πατείαν Φλ(άνους) Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, Τῦθι ιη, η  
ἵδικ(τίονος).      <sup>3</sup> [Φλάνους Θε]οδόσιος Κύρου ἀναφερόμενος [εἰς τὸν] ἀριθμὸν  
<sup>4</sup> [τῶν γενναιο]τάτων [Μαύρ]ων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμο[πολι]τῶν      <sup>5</sup>] Φλανίω Ἐρ-  
μίω Άσκληπι[άδου] .. αμαθιού      <sup>6</sup>] ὀπτίονι κριθαχύρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἀρι]θμοῦ.  
<sup>7</sup> [δύολογῶ ἀπει]ληφέναι καὶ πεπληρώσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τῆς μηρ[ιαί-]      <sup>8</sup> [ας ± 8  
].ης [τοῦ (?)] ἔξαμηνιαίου χρόνου· τοῦτ' ἔστιν· ....      <sup>9</sup> [± 22] ... τῆς ὁγδόης  
ἵδικ(τίονος), Ἐπείψ Μεσορή      <sup>10</sup> [Θώθ Φαῶφι Αθύρ Χοιάκ ± 12]αι περὶ τού-  
του μοι ἀνάλογον      <sup>11</sup> [± 30] τῆς ἀννώνης τοῦ ἔξαμηνιαίου      <sup>12</sup> [χρόνου  
± 24]ωσθαι παρὰ σοκ. π[± 10]      <sup>13</sup> [καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην π]εποίη-  
μαι τὴν [ν δύολογίαν]      <sup>14</sup> [± 32] ε.ε.. [± 12]

<sup>2</sup> λαμπροτάτου: Just possible that the -τον has been written above the line; τυθι: ιη η ινδικη.

<sup>5</sup> 1. διὰ Μαθίου?: A possible reading, but why in this position?

<sup>5, 6</sup> Perhaps no writing in the lacunae here.

<sup>7, 8</sup> 1. τὴν μηνιαίαν?: We might expect then [καταβο]λῆς, but, whatever it is, the letter before -ης is not lambda.

<sup>12</sup> 1. πεπληρ]ωσθαι παρὰ σο(ν) καὶ π[?]

**80.** 7·3 × 11·9 cm. A.D. 553. A receipt of the ἑδόθη-type, payment having been made in this case through a *zygostates* named John; approximately half of it is missing. The hand is clearly sixth-century, and the receipt is dated by an era of Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>1</sup> ἑδό(θη) διὰ τοῦ θαυμ(ασιωτάτου) Ἰωάννου ζυγοστά(του)[      <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ μηνὸς Χοιάκ

δευτέρας ἵδικτιο[νος]      <sup>3</sup> γύ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) ἴδι(ωτικῷ) νο(μισμάτια) γ'' π(αρὰ) ας  
μ(όνα)· γύ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια)[ <sup>4</sup> ἔτους] σλ̄ ρ̄ζθ Χοιάκ ἵδι(ικτίονος) δευτέρας.<sup>+</sup>  
Ι ιωαννο<sup>ν</sup>.      2 ἵδικτιο[.].      4 ἵδις.

**81.** Fr. (a) 8 × 7·7 cm.; (b) 7·9 × 7·4 cm. Sixth century. Receipt for *adaeratio* written on the recto of papyrus of poor quality in untidy sixth-century cursive. Only the beginnings and endings of lines survive, but the task of providing supplements is not a hard one. There are some illegible traces on a greatly darkened portion of the verso. It is possible that we have here our latest recorded example of ἔξαργυρισμός = *adaeratio*: ἀπαργυρισμός is commoner in later Byzantine texts (cf. P. Lond. iv, Introd., p. xxvi, n. 2), whereas all references to ἔξαργυρισμός in *WB* are fourth-century.

<sup>1</sup> φ κυρίω μου ἀδελφ(ῷ) Ιωάγ[νη] ..... παρέσχ(ες) μοι ὑπὲρ πρώτου προστάγ(ματος)  
<sup>2</sup> σίτου ἐν ἔξαργυρ(ισμῷ) δωδ[εκάτης ἵδι(ικτίονος)] χρυσοῦ νο(μισμάτιον) ἐν παρὰ κερά-  
τια πέντε, γύ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α [π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) ε, ..... συμφ(ωνεῖ)  
μοι νομισμάτιον ἐν      <sup>4</sup> παρὰ κεράτια πέντε.

<sup>1, 3</sup> The name of the writer of the receipt is missing, and we should also expect some description of his office; to provide room for this in the lacunae of ll. 1 and 3, we should perhaps suppose that ἵδικτίονος was written in full in that of l. 2.

**82.** 12·2 × 25·6 cm. Sixth century. A receipt written in a large, upright, and untidy, sixth-century hand, which is rather difficult to read in places, especially as the right and left margins are mutilated, a part of both, though not very much, is missing altogether, and there are several holes. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> [κυρ]ιώ μου ἀδελφῷ Μηνᾶ ὑποδέκ(τη) Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀκτούριος· λογίζομαι σοι ὑπὲρ  
[τρίτου (?)]      <sup>2</sup> [προ]στάγματος πεντεκαδεκάτης ἵδι(ικτίονος) διὰ Μα` κά' ρις  
Φοιβάμμων 'Ηρα( ) χρ(υσοῦ) κεράτια      <sup>3</sup> [δέκα τρία ἡμίσου], γύ(νεται) κερ(ά-  
τια) ιγ [(ἡμίσου) μόν]α [...]. Αρτεμίδωρος ἀκτούριος σημ[μ]φ(ωνῶ) τὸ ἐν[τάγμον]  
<sup>4</sup> [τῶν χρυσοῦ] κερατίων δέκα τριάδην ἡμίσους ὡς πρό(κειται), Φαμενω. κς, ει ἵδι(ικ-  
τίονος).+

<sup>1</sup> [τρίτου (?)]: There is scarcely room for a larger ordinal.

<sup>2</sup> I. Μακαρίου Φοιβάμμων—the κα is in much fainter ink. After these two proper names we should expect a profession or occupation, but it is hard to see what this could be. The eta is clear and the rho reasonably certain; perhaps 'Ηρακ( ) might be read and extended to 'Ηρακ(λεοπολίτον); it is unlikely that μακαρίου would have been written here.

<sup>3</sup> After [Σ μόν]α, Φλ(άνους) would be expected, but the traces cannot be read.

<sup>4</sup> Φαμενω: Certain but followed by a mysterious letter which is not theta or tau; possibly it is delta erased or even ντ written as a monogram.

**83.** 11·2 × 26·9 cm. Sixth century. Hermopolite nome? A receipt similar to that published as P. Lond. iii. 1035, p. 245 and also issued by Flavius Cyricus σὺν Θ(εῷ)

*μαγίστρος* to a *βοηθός* of the village of Sinape, 'probably in the Hermopolite nome' (edd.). Written in two hands, both sixth-century cursives, the second being slighter and less compact, on the recto of papyrus of poor quality which has suffered considerable damage and lost the beginnings of lines; there are several holes, an especially large one in the middle of the papyrus. Faint, illegible traces of smudged letters on the verso, just possibly ending with *χρυσ(οῦ) νο(μισμάτια)*. With regard to provenance, analogy with P. Lond. iii. 1035 would tempt one to place this document too in the Hermopolite nome, but Wessely (P. Stud. x. 190. 3 and 203. 3) places *χωρίον Θάλλους* in the Heracleopolite nome. However, as the same editor places P. Stud. xx. 83, in which *Θάλλος* occurs twice (col. ii. 3, col. iii. 5), in the Hermopolite nome, without identifying it as a proper name in this instance, it might perhaps be unwise to rely too much on his judgement in the other. The cross at the end of the receipt was added by the second hand.

+

<sup>1</sup> [Φλ(άονιος) Κυρ]ικὸς σὺν Θ(εῷ) μαγίστρος + τῷ θαυμ(ασιωτάτῳ) Φοιβάμμων[ι]  
βοηθ(ῷ) κώμ(ῆς) Θάλλον· δέδωκ(ας) ἀπὸ δημοσί(ου) <sup>2</sup> [τῆς αὐτ(ης)] κώμ(ῆς)  
τεσσερεσκαιδέ[κα]της ὑδ(ικτίονος) δ(ιὰ) [“Ω]ρου Μεχ[εὶρ μ]ηνὸς χρυσοῦ νομισμ(άτια)  
ἔκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα <sup>3</sup> [τέσσερα μό(να) καὶ διμ(οίως) τῷ αὐτ[ῷ] μη[ν]ι] χρυσοῦ  
νομισμά[τι]α τριάκοντα πέντε κε[ράτια] εἴκοσι εῦ[στ](α)θ(μα) ζυγ(ῷ), <sup>4</sup> [γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ρ]οθ(κεράτια) κ εὔστ(α)θ(μα) ζυγ(ῷ) μό(να). ἐγρ(άφη)  
Φαμενώθ ἐ ὑδ(ικτίονος) δ. + (2nd h.) Φλ(άονιος) Κυρικὸς σὺν Θ(εῷ) μαγ(ι)σ(τρος),  
στοιχεῖ [μοι] <sup>5</sup> [χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ἔκα]τὸν ἐβδομέκοντα ἐννέα κερ(άτια)  
εἴκοσει εὔσταθ(μα) ζυγ(ῷ).

<sup>1, 4</sup> σύν.

<sup>1</sup> *μαγίστρος*: For the importance of the *magister*, who bore the title of Count and had judicial, as well as financial, responsibilities, see Rouillard, *L'Administration civile*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 109, 151. *μαγίστρος* cannot be read.

<sup>3</sup> The supplement is *exempli gratia*.

<sup>4</sup> ρ]οθ: The omicron is connected by ligatures with the letters before and after it and is not easy to disentangle. *μαγ(ι)σ(τρος)*: The mu looks more like rho, the two perpendiculars having been looped to join at the top; possibly there has been a correction.

<sup>5</sup> l. ἐβδομήκοντα, εἴκοσι—the omicron of εἴκοσει is an alteration.

**84.** 16.1 × 7.5 cm. Sixth century. Account of provisions written on the recto of light papyrus of fair quality in a firm, clear, upright, sixth-century hand. Verso blank. The fragment gives the heading, and probably the greater part, of a list of provisions issued to the household servants of the deceased Marcianus through his manager John. The provisions listed are wheat and barley only and seem to have been given in payment, or part-payment, for work done. The only unexpected entry is that of 1. 6, where *τῇ κυρ(ὶᾳ)* is preferred to *τῇ Κύρ(ὶᾳ)*, which is also possible: the definite article is

difficult to explain with a proper name in this context nor is abbreviation of proper names found in this fragment, but, even if we grant that *τῇ κυρ(ὶᾳ)* is preferable for these reasons, it is still an odd insertion in a list of payments to servants. One can only assume that it has been inserted because it falls into the category of grain payments in disregard of the person or persons to whom payment is being made. It is worth noting too that the amount paid is considerably greater than that paid to any other person.

<sup>1</sup> +γνῶσ(ις) ὀψιανίου δοθ(έντος) τοῦς <sup>2</sup> παιδαρ(ίοις) τοῦ μακαρίτ(ον) <sup>3</sup> Μαρ-  
κιανοῦ δ(ιὰ) <sup>4</sup> Ιωάννου προν(οιτοῦ) <sup>5</sup> σὺν Θ(εῷ) καρπ(ῶν) δεκάτης ὑδ(ικτίονος).  
οῦς(τως) <sup>6</sup> τῇ κυρ(ὶᾳ) (ὑπὲρ) [σ]υμπληρώσεως <sup>7</sup> στέ(ου), σί(του) (ἀρτά-  
βαι) κς, κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ν''. <sup>8</sup> Βαρθολομαίω παιδ(αρίω) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ, κρ(ιθῆς)  
(ἀρτάβαι) s. <sup>9</sup> Εὐρίμω νοταρ(ίω) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ, κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) s. <sup>10</sup> τῷ  
μαγείρ(ῷ) (ἀρτάβαι) ι, κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ε. <sup>11</sup> Μαξίμη παιδ(αρίω) (ἀρτάβαι) s,  
κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) γ. <sup>12</sup> τῇ θυρονρ(ῷ) τοῦ οἴκ(ον) (ἀρτάβαι) γ, κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτά-  
βαι) α (ημισυ). <sup>13</sup> τῷ ιατρῷ (ἀρτάβαι) δ δοκ( ) <sup>14</sup> τῷ γναφεῖ (ἀρτάβαι)  
β δ( ) [.....]γ[ ]

<sup>4</sup> σύν: For the different connotations of this phrase used as a qualification see my analysis in 'Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt, II' in *JEA* 36 (1950), pp. 94 f.; here it goes with what follows rather than what precedes.

<sup>9</sup> 1. Εὐρίμω: Cf. P. Tread. 51. 10.

<sup>12</sup> τῇ θυρονρ(ῷ): For the gender cf. P. Ryl. ii. 136. 6; *θυρωρός* or *θυρονρός* can be either masculine or feminine, though Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v. Θατρῆς, seems to imply that they can only be masculine, when he cites P. Strassb. i. 24. 16; 24 as examples of Θατρῆς as masculine.

<sup>13</sup> δοκ( ): Very puzzling, especially as it occurs where the artabas of barley appear in earlier lines. Unless it is an abbreviation for something like δοκιμασθεῖσα (cf. P. Stud. x. 259. 4 of a σύνοψις ἀναλόματος), then we should perhaps assume a simple error in spelling and read δοχ(ικῶ). In the next line δ( ) is probably a further abbreviation of δοκ( ).

**85.** 6.6 × 16.5 cm. Seventh century. Receipt for *annona* written on the recto of dark, poor papyrus in minuscule hand, thin and fluent; for the type of receipt cf. 41. This example is complete and shows only one main difference when compared with 41: instead of a *διαστολεύς* we find a *βοηθός λογιστηρίου* endorsing the receipt, supported by the accountant who actually issued it. This may be a purely local or accidental change, but, on the other hand, the passage of half a century may have brought new methods and techniques in the compilation and issue of official receipts of this kind, whilst preserving the body of the document intact. It is worthy of note also that, if the suggested reading in P. Lond. v. 1755. 11 is correct, a *διαστολεύς* there performs the function allotted to a *βοηθός λογιστηρίου* in the similar receipts, P. Lond. v. 1756, 1757, thus suggesting that by this time the duties of both officials were very much the same. Verso blank.

<sup>1</sup> +δέδωκ(εν) ὀνόμ(ατος) Ταυρῆνος Ἐρμαπόλλωνος δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ      <sup>2</sup> εἰς λόγον δη-  
μοσί(ων) ἀνηψιῶν τρεισκαιδεκάτης ἵνδ(ικτίονος)      <sup>3</sup> κεράτιον ἐν, γύν(εται) χρ(υσοῦ)  
κερ(άτιον) α μ(όνον). + Χρηστόδωρος σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ      <sup>4</sup> βιοηθ(ὸς) λογι(στηρίου) δι(ὰ)  
έμοι<sup>ū</sup> Βίκτορος λο⟨γο⟩γρ(άφου), συμφ(ωνεῖ).

<sup>1</sup> ὀνόμ(ατος): See 41, 1 n.      <sup>3</sup> 1. Χριστόδωρος.      <sup>4</sup> λογι//.

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54 1-3  
[ὑπ]ατείας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Άρκαδίου]ν αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ β' καὶ 'Ρουφίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμετος  
καὶ μαγίστρου [...] Φ]αῶφι θ (A.D. 392) 19 18-19  
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## MONTHS

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 — f. of Aur. Demeas  
*Δημήτριος* 12 13  
*Δίδυμος* 14 8  
*Διομήδης* 12 1  
*Διονύσιος* 4 10  
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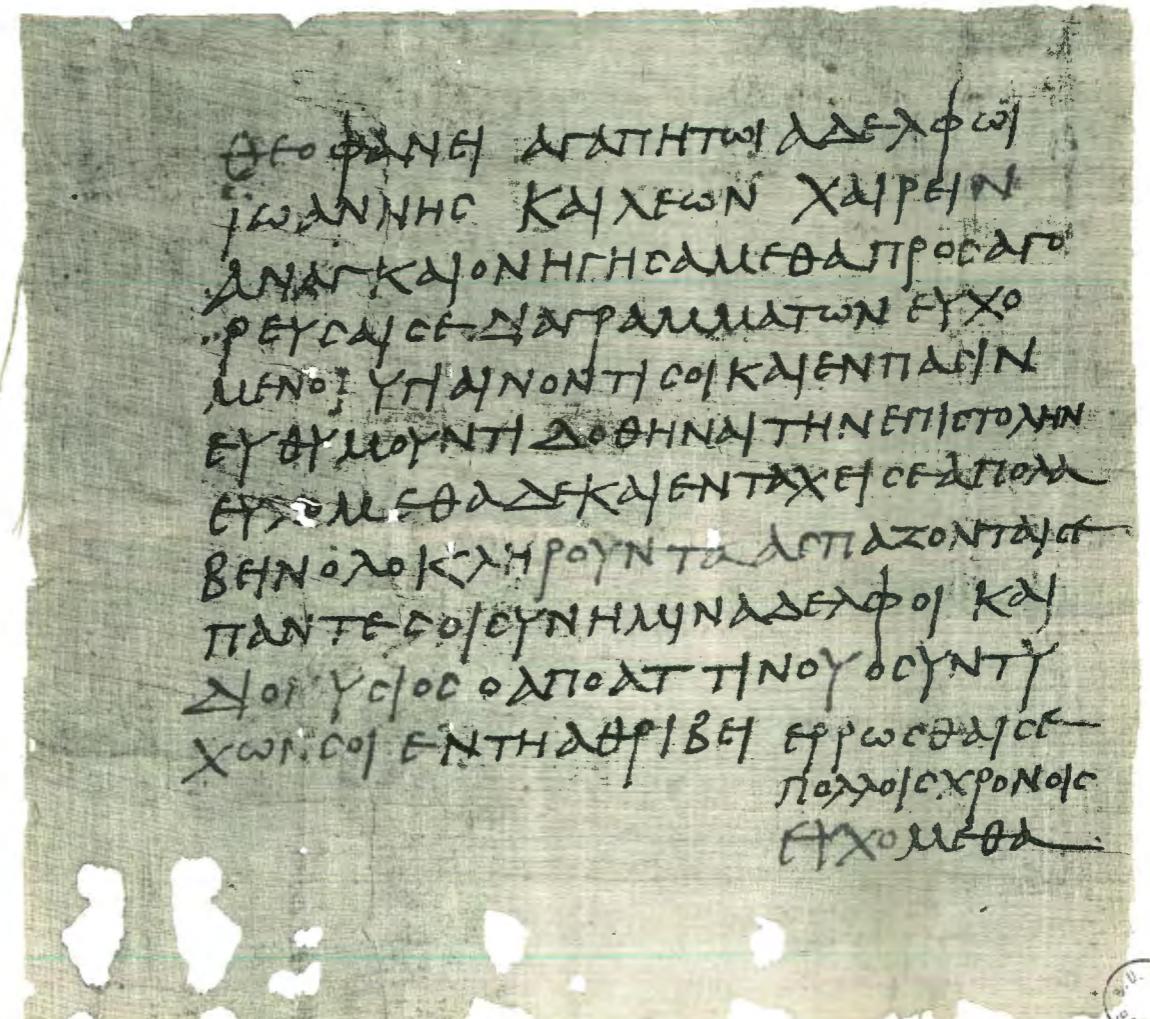
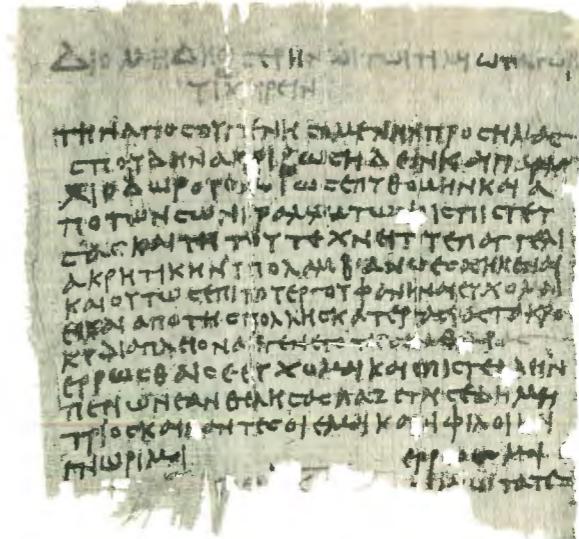
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## 2. Letter from Anatolius to Sarapion

### 3. Letter from Anatolius to Ambrosius



(a) 12. Letter from Diomedes to Serenus  
(b) 4. Letter from John and Leon to Theophanes



ΡΑΙΝ  
 ΡΟΜΑ  
 ΗΝΑ  
 ΔΕΕΣΤΙΚ ΣΕΓΡΑΦΙΝΤΑΙΟΙ ΕΔΔΛΟΙΟΙ  
 ΛΗΝΗΣΚΕΣ ΘΑΛΚΑ ΚΗΗΛΙΩΝ ΙΝΑΛΗΖΟΝΑ  
 ΕΧΩΛΙΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΗΔΙΑΝ ΓΝΩΣΚΟΝΤΕ  
 ΔΩΝΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΛΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΚΤΑΙΑΝΗΛΙΝ  
 ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΣΟΥΚΑΛΥΠΗΛΑΝ· Ε Η ΔΕΗΜΑΣ  
 ΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΗΝ ΤΗ ΣΕΠΙ ΣΟΙΛΑΓ  
 ΣΤΗ ΣΕΥ ΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ Ή ΕΥΧΟΛΙΕΘΑΚΑΙΣ  
 ΠΙΖΩΜ ΝΤΕΥΞΕΣ ΒΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟ  
 ΚΡΑΙ· ΑΙΦΕΟΥ· ΨΙΤΟ Σ ΑΠΟΛΑΦΟΝΤΕ  
 ΣΕ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΝΟΝ + ΧΗΙΤΕΚΑΙ ΟΩΛΑΔΤ!  
 ΚΑΚΑΛΩΔΑ ΠΑΛΑΣΑΝΤΑ· ΕΤΘΥΛΗΔ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΟΙ ΣΥΙΟΙ ΚΗΗΛΙΩΝ ΛΝΥΔΙΩΤΕΚΑ  
 ΛΦΘΩΝΙΩΙ ΟΤΙ ΥΠΑΙΝΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΦΟΝΤΑ  
 ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΙ ΜΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑ  
 ΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΥΚΑΤΩΝ ΛΕΤΟΥΡΓΗΜΑ  
 ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΙΝΟΥΣΙ ΔΕΚΑΛΛΑΦΛ  
 ΥΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΗΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΠΑΝΤΕΣ ο  
 ΑΠΑΤΟΝ Ο ΚΟΝΣΟΥ ΔΕΠΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΟΛΛΑ  
 Λ. ΕΛΦΙ· ο Υ ΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΙΔΗΛΩΝ  
 ΚΠΑΛΤ οι ΚΑΤΑΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΚΟΝΗΛΩΝ  
 ΕΡΡΩΣΘΑΙ ΣΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ  
 ΧΡΟΝΟΙΣ ΕΥΧΟΛΙΕΚΥΡΙΕ  
 ΔΔΕΛΦΕΚΑΠΟΛΑΒ ο  
 ΛΗΝΕΣ ΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΘΥΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ

ΠΑΧΩΝΚΣ



The image shows a single page from an antique manuscript, specifically the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis. The page is oriented vertically and features two columns of dense, handwritten text in a Gothic script. The paper is severely damaged, with numerous large, irregular white holes and tears of varying sizes scattered across the surface, particularly on the left side. These holes reveal the underlying board or the reverse side of the page. The remaining text is a mix of dark ink and the lighter color of the original paper. The script is fluid and somewhat cursive, though it clearly represents a formal Gothic hand. The overall appearance is one of great age and physical wear.

## 6. Letter from Besodorus to Theophanes



XKO